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QUAKERS IN ACTION



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QUAKERS IN ACTION

RECENT HUMANITARIAN AND REFORM
ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN QUAKERS

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TO
THE FRIENDS OF THE FRIENDS (QUAKERS)
WHATEVER THEIR NATION, RACE, OR CREED, WHO
SEEK TO PROMOTE PEACE AND GOODWILL IN
EVERY PHASE OF OUR SOCIAL ORDER, THIS
BOOK IS HOPEFULLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE

A philosophy of Force bids us *in times of peace prepare for war*, in order that others seeing our strength may be restrained by fear from attacking us. A philosophy of Peace and Goodwill bids us *in times of peace prepare for peace*, in order that others seeing our attitude and purposes may be constrained by the same motives to follow our example.

Between the first of August, 1914, and the middle of November, 1918, Western Civilization reaped the bloodiest, the most costly, and the most sinister fruits of the philosophy of Force that the world had ever harvested. Had that been the end of the harvest, it would have been enough to have started every thoughtful, socially minded person on a search for a different philosophy, but it was not the end. It is hoped that this book may serve to remind America of what a philosophy of Force did to the non-combatants of the warring countries of Europe—to the aged men, the women, the children, and to babes yet unborn. This aftermath of war came not nigh us, but we ought to know that for a decade after the signing of the Armistice disease and undernourishment took a ghastly toll of the peoples of Europe. The first part of this book gives us a sample, as revealed in the records of the

American Friends Service Committee, of the post-war situation; but we should not forget that the misery and suffering allayed by the Quaker relief was only a fraction of the total relief work, and that the sum total of the relief activities of all agencies was pitifully inadequate to the needs of the situation.

To my mind one of the most significant things revealed by a study of the official records of Quaker activities for the past decade is a new method of approach by leaders of Quaker thought to the problem of war and other conflict groups. The Friends are supplementing their traditional attitudes which were often negative and passive by positive and constructive efforts to get at the underlying causes of war and to destroy the seeds of conflict in economic, racial, and international relations before they have a chance to germinate and produce their bitter, civilization-destroying fruits. Many individuals and organizations which never followed them before may well unite with them now in their constructive efforts to prepare for peace in times of peace.

I cannot here express my thanks to all the Friends who aided me through their writings or through personal interviews. Acknowledgment of their help is to be found in the footnotes. I must, however, mention a few by name. William Eves, 3rd, chairman, for a time, of the German Child Feeding Mission, and Hanns Gramm, Executive Secretary of the German Central Committee, helped me to comprehend the significance of the Friends work in Germany. My greatest debt,

however, is to the representatives of two Quaker organizations. I refer to Wilbur K. Thomas, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee and to William B. Harvey, Secretary of the Religious Society of Friends of Philadelphia and Vicinity. Without their cordial assistance and free access to the files of their organizations this work could not have been begun. Finally, it could never have been completed but for the loyal coöperation of my wife who relieved me of many duties and rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of the manuscript for publication.

LESTER M. JONES.

Greencastle, Indiana,
November 30, 1928.

INTRODUCTION

Somebody asked President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard once what were the hardest things he had had to bear during his long life, and he answered without a moment's hesitation: "Receiving pain myself and giving it to others." If we were to be asked what had given us the greatest joy in life, most of us would answer, I think, "Relieving other persons' suffering and giving them joy."

That is certainly a shallow theory of life which assumes that we all *aim at* pleasure as our goal of life and that everybody wants to secure for himself the greatest possible amount of pleasure and the longest continuation of personal pleasure. Most lives reveal the fact that "otherism" is as strong an element in us as egoism is. Sympathy, pity and interest in the welfare of others are just as instinctive traits of our nature as are preservation, acquisition and self-interest. Either set of interests can be cultivated and given a predominant place among the driving forces of a life, but one of them is as "natural" as the other is. It is no doubt true, as I have admitted, that giving other persons joy gives joy to the bearer of it, but it is very rare that the giver of joy gives in order to get. He forgets himself in his task. He is absorbed in his problem of relief and

service. He gives to give. He strives to help. He works to promote the welfare of others. He has no eye for the "returns" that may come back to him. His deed is its own end. But all unsought for and unpremeditated, joy comes back to the giver and the doer—it comes back, however, as a by-product, not as a thing aimed at.

There have been periods in the history of Christianity when charity and philanthropy have been raised to a place of great importance because they seemed to be essential to the process of the salvation and the purification of the soul. The main concern was not the relief of the suffering of the sufferer, but the "spiritual" effect of it all on the purveyor. "The poor ye have always with you" was read to mean, "you will never lack an opportunity to save your souls by means of charity." That state of mind, that thin interpretation of life, could prevail only in a society that had reduced religion to legalism and that had made it an unlovely calculation of double-entry bookkeeping. There is still an ominous sound in the proverbial phrase, "As cold as charity," and in the well-known attitude toward "philanthropy" in quotation marks.

One of the most important aspects of the relief work herein described is the *spirit* of it. It was not done to save the souls of the doers of it. It was not done to relieve their mental or spiritual strain. It was not done to get some quick or remote "return." It was done out of love and tender human sympathy. The workers in the main forgot themselves in the work and focussed

their minds on the thing that needed to be done in that awful crisis.

As I watched it, followed it, and reflected on it, it seemed to me that the most striking thing about it was the way the workers *shared their lives* with those they were laboring to help. They literally took on themselves the burden of the world's suffering and agonized with those who were treading the winepress. They lived *with* them. They felt their own hearts palpitate with the strokes and shocks which the war entailed upon those with whom they lived and worked. It was always touching to see how the little children in France, in Vienna, in Poland, in Germany loved those who had come to bring them relief. When our first dray-load of cod-liver oil was being taken through the streets of Moscow one of the barrels leaked and the oil dripped through the bottom of the cart. Little children ran along with dippers and caught it as it dripped through the cart and eagerly drank it as they ran. One could hardly get a better illustration of their desperate need. But they needed affection and friendship as much as they needed cod-liver oil.

There was a period when our herd of five hundred cows furnished all the milk that was available for the children crowded in the hospitals of Vienna, and our boys were bringing coal, during this hard crisis, from Hungary in their Ford cars to keep the fires going in the hospitals, but what was hardly less important was the spirit of fellowship and friendship which the children felt from their helpers. One of the boys who was

detailed to go with the threshing machine in the desolated peasant areas of northern France, threshing the wheat in village after village, living with the peasants and sleeping in the airless rooms with the peasant families, wrote, saying that he had just been offered a soft job in the Paris office, but that he had decided to stay on with the threshing-machine. It is that note of co-operation, that spirit of sharing, that calls for special emphasis. It was the type of philanthropy that forgot itself in giving and doing. Nothing is harder to catch and report than *the spirit* of an undertaking. What was done can be told, what was felt is too elusive to be packeted and labeled. But I think the sympathetic reader of this scholarly treatise, written as a doctor's thesis, will catch many hints of the informing spirit and will feel that the book contains the story of this *new* philanthropy.

Galsworthy, in one of his short stories, has drawn a vivid picture of how hate can harden a heart and how love can remould it. It is a story of war-time. It tells of an intense "patriot" who gave his whole mind to a campaign for hunting out and interning people of German blood. He caught in his remorseless net the son of a former friend, a youth whose mother was British and whose father was German. He had him thrown into an interne camp where in time he fell dangerously ill, but in the end recovered. After his recovery he sent a letter to his persecutor in which were these noble words: "I owe you a deep debt of gratitude for having been at least partially the means of giving me the most wonder-

ful experience of my life. In that camp of sorrow where there was sickness of mind such as I am sure you have never seen or realized—of poor creatures, turning and turning on themselves year after year—I learned to forget myself and do my little best for them. And I learned, and I hope I shall never forget it, that goodwill toward his fellow-creatures is all that stands between man and death in life.”

Under very different circumstances, and as free volunteers, the workers whose story is here told—workers in France, Austria, Serbia, Poland, Germany and Russia—learned that this great law of life is everywhere operative: the spirit of love is the true way of life.

RUFUS M. JONES.

Haverford, Penna.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I THE TRADITIONAL BACKGROUND	1
II THE RELIGIOUS DYNAMIC	9
III PRE-WAR UNPREPAREDNESS	14
IV ORGANIZATION AND PURPOSE OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE	18
V WAR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN FRANCE	23
VI WAR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN GERMANY—FIRST PERIOD	36
VII WAR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN GERMANY—SECOND PERIOD	56
VIII EFFECTS OF THE QUAKER FEEDING AND MESSAGE ON THE GERMAN PEOPLE	69
IX WAR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN AUSTRIA	96
X WAR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN POLAND	110
XI WAR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN RUSSIA (1916-1919)	121
XII RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN RUSSIA (1920-1925)	129
XIII SUMMARY OF EUROPEAN RELIEF ACTIVITIES	154
XIV THE NEW IMPETUS TO HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES AT HOME	163

CHAPTER	PAGE
XV THE SOCIAL ORDER COMMITTEE	167
XVI THE REORGANIZED AMERICAN SERVICE COM- MITTEE	180
XVII RELIEF ACTIVITIES AMONG THE MINERS . .	186
XVIII INTER-RACIAL ACTIVITIES	194
XIX EFFECTS OF HUMANITARIAN AND REFORM ACTIVITIES AT HOME AND ABROAD UPON THE AMERICAN QUAKERS	201
XX CONCLUSION	211
BIBLIOGRAPHY	221

ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACING PAGE
Army field kitchen used for child feeding. Transport- ing food from a central kitchen to a feeding center	38
Sunbath cure in woods near Eisenach. Forest school, near Erfurt	62
Child under two years of age, Leipzig. Children 2-6 years in a kindergarten, Leipzig	84
Three children in small town near Cologne. School feeding at Frankfurt-am-Main	108
Boys at Baden-Baden taking sunbaths for tuber- culosis. Children in Kindergarten, Leipzig	118
Siberian horse and his owner. Horses after their long journey overland to Russia	130
Branding a horse with a Quaker star. Horse bazar, Pertopaviosk, Siberia	152
Feeding of expectant mothers. Feeding station for mothers in a park	182
Children at Eisenach school. "To the last drop"	202
Children in line for soup and rolls. Six year old girl in Leipzig Public School	212

QUAKERS IN ACTION

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CHAPTER I

THE TRADITIONAL BACKGROUND

Twentieth Century Quakers are the heirs of a great tradition of humanitarian and reform activities. They are also the heirs of a great religious tradition, the dynamic behind their present-day spirit of service, even as it was the motive behind the activities of the Friends 250 years ago. "To the early Friends all life, religious and civil, domestic and ecclesiastical, was, as our newest philosophers would have it to be, one life. There were no lines of demarcation; no divisions in their journal entries or indexes. So if our analytical minds want to classify and docket our ancestors' varied activities they give us little help. Indeed, much of that which we now seek to bring into relief they passed over without observation. To them social service followed automatically on spiritual awakening, as warmth follows fire." ¹

One realizes the truth of the last sentence above as he reads George Fox's Journal and notes how few are

¹ Rowntree, Joshua, *Social Science: Its Place in the Society of Friends*, London, 1913, p. 16.

the references to questions of social welfare; and yet the whole of Quaker history is a story of ministering to the needy and oppressed and of tilting courageously against the evils in their social order. Consequently modern day Friends have no lack of inspiring examples to reënforce their own faith, experience, and convictions.

Undoubtedly the Quaker tradition of opposition to war for a quarter of a millennium buttresses the Friends' opposition to compulsory military training in our schools and colleges and renews their zeal on behalf of international goodwill.

The Quaker youth with half-formed convictions, wavering between desire to serve his country and the desire to be true to the God of his Fathers, was helped to a decision in many cases by that memorable statement of George Fox to the commissioners of Cromwell. "I told them," he says, "I knew from whence all wars arose, even from the lust, according to James' doctrine; and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars."²

This same youth, when subjected to the cruelties often meted out to the conscientious objector in the army, had a precious tradition of courage and steadfastness under persecution on the part of thousands of Quakers. Fox himself spent years in prison rather than yield his conscientious scruples against taking of oaths. Time and again was he manhandled because of his

² Journal of George Fox, Tercentenary edition, New York, 1924, p. 36.

teachings contrary to the church. Let one description suffice:

"Now while I was at Mansfield-Woodhouse, I was moved to go to the steeple-house there on a First-day, out of the Meeting in Mansfield, and declare the truth to the priest and the people; but the people fell upon me in great rage, struck me down, and almost stifled and smothered me; and I was cruelly beaten and bruised by them with their hands, Bibles, and sticks. Then they haled me out, though I was hardly able to stand, and put me in the stocks, where I sate some hours; and they brought dog whips and horse whips, threatening to whip me, and as I sate in the stocks they threw stones at me. After some time they had me before the magistrate, at a knight's house; where were many great persons; who, seeing how evilly I had been used, after much threatening set me at liberty. But the rude people stoned me out of town, and threatened me with pistols for preaching the word of life to them."³

The long-sustained interest of the Friends in law-courts and prisons from Elizabeth Fry to the work of the Friends Paris Center in 1926 dates back to 1650 when Fox wrote the judges from Derby jail, "concerning their putting men to death for cattle and money, and small matters. . . . Moreover I laid before the judges what a sore thing it was that prisoners should lie so long in jail, shewing how that they learned badness one of another in talking of their bad deeds; and therefore speedy justice should be done."⁴ The experience of Fox and thousands of other early Quakers

³ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 37-8.

in jails and dungeons of England were revolting in the extreme. Fox wrote in his *Journal* of vermin-infested dungeons "where men and women were put together in a very incivil manner"; of muck and mire up to the shoe tops in Doomsdale dungeon; of the prison at Scarborough Castle where rain beat in upon his bed and water ran across the floor of his fireless room.⁵

The present-day Quaker business men who are attacking such questions as wages, profits, and investments, and condition of the working people are conscious of a long line of illustrious predecessors within their own Society. When Fox was only a youth he exhorted a group of justices "not to oppress the servants in their wages, but to do that which was right and just to them."⁶ Fox also attacked the idea of bargaining and cheating in business. He says, "In fairs, also and in markets, I was made to declare against their deceitful merchandise, and cheating, and cozening; warning all to deal justly, to speak the truth, to let their Yea be yea, and their Nay to be nay."⁷ Although Fox refers to this subject only a few times, he evidently spoke and wrote upon the subject frequently because by 1654 it was well known that the Quaker merchants had only one price, and that they would not bargain or cheat. At first, the peculiarities of dress and language adopted by the Quakers together with their unwillingness to follow the common practice of "jewling" lost them trade

⁵ *Journal of George Fox*, Tercentenary edition, New York, 1924, pp. 89, 128, 237-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

so that some Friends could hardly make a living. But when people found that their children could do the shopping at a Quaker store as well as they could do it themselves the tide changed. On every hand the question was, " 'Where is there a draper, or shopkeeper, or tailor, or shoemaker, or any other tradesman that is a Quaker?' Insomuch that Friends had more trade than many of their neighbors, and if there was any trading, they had a great part of it. Then the envious professors altered their note, and began to cry out, 'If we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands.' " ⁸

A number of Quakers, chief among whom was William Allen, were associated with Robert Owen in his plans for improving the condition of labor at New Lanark. ⁹

In the New World William Penn established a policy of fair dealing with the Indians which casts a shadow over the high-handed methods employed in other colonies. He also drew up a plan for a League of Nations which has been partially realized and is still worthy of serious study. ¹⁰

John Woolman, another early American Quaker, warned the Friends against the excessive pursuit of profits. He carried his own warnings into practice. "Until this year, 1756," he says, "I continued to retail

⁸ Ibid., p. 95.

⁹ Jones, Rufus M., *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, New York, 1921, vol. i, pp. 339-341.

¹⁰ Hull, W. I., *William Penn's Plan for a League of Nations*, Bulletin No. 20, the American Friends' Service Committee, 1919.

Goods, besides following my trade as a Taylor; about which Time, I grew uneasy on account of my business growing too cumbersome. I had begun with selling Trimmings for Garments and from thence to sell Cloths and Linens; and, at length, having got a considerable Shop of Goods, my trade increased every Year, and the Road to a large business appeared open; but I felt a stop in my mind.”¹¹ Soon after this, he closed out his stock of goods and devoted himself to his work as a tailor.

Although few of the Society of Friends will feel that they need to use this means of maintaining their spiritual life, yet an increasing number feel that a better distribution of surplus profits must be devised.

Interest in the poor, the aged, and the orphaned has always characterized the Quakers, although most of it was unscientific. George Fox, for example, once ran a quarter of a mile to overtake and give alms to some beggars whom he had seen other people refuse. “Sometimes,” says Fox, “there would come two hundred of the poor of other people, and after the (general) Meeting, Friends would send to the bakers for bread; for we were taught to do good unto all.”¹² In 1669 Fox urged the Friends to have “a House and provide for them that be distempered; and also an almshouse for all poor Friends that are Past Work.”¹³ Again Fox

¹¹ Journal with other writings of John Woolman, Everyman's Ed., page 47.

¹² Journal, Bicentenary edition, p. 470, quoted in Rowntree's Social Service. Its Place in the Society of Friends, p. 27.

¹³ Epistles, 1698, p. 287, quoted by Rowntree, op. cit., p. 27.

writing on luxuries said: "With the lace that we formerly had hung upon our backs that kept us not warm, with that we could maintain a company of poor people that had no clothes. And so our religion lay not in meats, nor drink, nor clothes, nor Thee, nor Thou, nor putting off hats, nor making curtsies . . . our religion lies in that which brings to visit the poor, and fatherless, and widows, and keeps from the spots of the world." ¹⁴

John Bellers, a little known but quite remarkable Quaker, worked out a plan for educational Industrial Settlements for the care of the aged and also for children. He aimed to unite industries and education fitted to the needs of both groups in the one institution. The efforts of William Allen to build cottages with small allotments of land to remedy the condition of agricultural laborers sounds very modern.¹⁵

It is not the purpose of this chapter to tell the complete story of the social service of the Quakers in the past: that would require volumes to do it justice. Our endeavor has been, by means of a few quotations and examples, to point out that behind every line of humanitarian service which Friends are to-day undertaking there is a long tradition of Quaker activity. Consequently nothing has been said of the great work of John Woolman in banishing slave-holding from the Society of Friends more than sixty years before slaves were freed by the Emancipation Proclamation, nor has

¹⁴ Journal of George Fox, Tercentenary edition, New York, 1924, pp. 151-2.

¹⁵ Rowntree, op. cit., pp. 52-61.

anything been said of the important part played by Friends in securing that emancipation, although the Friends' interest in the Negro is undoubtedly influenced by that tradition.

Traditions alone, however powerful, do not account for the achievements of the American Quakers in the last decade. The real dynamic was their present-day religious faith and experience. This was the energizing, impelling force that tradition reënforced and steadied in those moments of doubt and uncertainty that must inevitably come to those whose convictions run counter to the thoughts and passions of the masses of men.

CHAPTER II

THE RELIGIOUS DYNAMIC

All the humanitarian and reform activities of the Quakers find their main impetus in their simple religious philosophy: first, the Fatherhood of God with its corollary, the Brotherhood of man; second, the continuing, direct revelation of God to man. As one Quaker writer says: "Since the Friend believes that all have access to God in their own hearts, he can conceive of no truer guidance than the voice of God and upon man rests no more urgent duty than the cultivation of the inward ear to hear that voice."¹ Finally, the service of God finds its truest expression in service to man. Quoting again from George A. Walton: "Quakerism is a bold application of democracy to religion. Like any truly democratic movement, its characteristic note is personal duty. The very freedom on which democracy rests will not survive individual faithlessness. . . . Quakerism struggles for lives of freedom, brotherhood, and culture. The Friend of the future time believes that above all, he must find and fulfill his duty to God, and further since he believes God's greatest concern in this part of his universe is the development of the

¹ Walton, Geo. A., *The Quaker of the Future* (pamphlet, 1916).

whole human race to the fulness of the stature of mankind, the Friend will see his duty to men wrapped up in his duty to God. Such devotion to duty will prevent democracy from degenerating into unbridled individualism.”²

This third article of faith keeps the second from leading the Quakers into bogs of negative mysticism where, “the infinite can be reached only by wiping out the finite.” The founder of Quakerism showed his followers how to prevent this result. As Rufus M. Jones says, “George Fox belongs rather among the positive mystics, who seek to realize the presence of God in this finite human life. That He transcends all finite experiences they fully realize, but the reality of any finite experience lies just in this fact that the living God is in it and expresses some divine purpose through it.”³

Consequently we find the Quakers evaluating war, slavery, race, class, and sex prejudices, prison systems, wage systems, etc., in the light of their effects on human personality and on group relations, and in the light of their congruity or lack of it with the Quaker conception of God as an ideal Father whose attributes are love, truth, and justice. We never find the Quaker seeking to justify wars and slavery, for example, by quotation from the Old Testament, or the subordination of women by an appeal to the writings of Paul. Believing as he does in direct present-day revelation

² Walton, Geo. A., *The Quaker of the Future* (pamphlet, 1916).

³ George Fox, *An Autobiography*, edited by Rufus M. Jones, Introduction, pages 18-23, for full discussion.

he seeks to find God's will for his own day and generation. The result is that the Quaker's convictions possess virility and timeliness more frequently than those of many other sects. They are not traditional attitudes bolstered up by an appeal to the past or by dependence upon sacred writings however much revered. They burst forth with the power and clearness of a "Thus saith the Lord" from the Eighth Century Prophets of Israel. They give him strength calmly to oppose the frenzied opinions of ninety-nine per cent of his fellow-citizens, and to overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles in doing what seems to him to be the will of God. Perhaps a quotation from Rufus M. Jones' book, "A Service of Love in War Time," will make clearer, than any amount of explanation could, the religious dynamic behind the war activities of the Quakers. He says that while he was preparing for the relief work in France:

"Again and again I was told, you are doing what you ought to do. We need to have in the world, especially now, some people who believe in the conquering power of love and who express in deeds the conviction that Christ's kingdom of God is something more than a dream or an illusion to be surrendered at every hard punch. Some day we shall all be glad that you stood out, held on, and would not yield to the appeal of the hour. . . .

"Now that all the havoc and ruin of the world, with its boundless tragedy is spread out before us, as it is for those who read, this other method of life may perhaps not look altogether foolish and irrational. Now that bankruptcy not only in financial credits, but in far more important assets

than money, has become a fact for much of the world, a new and unsuspected value may perhaps be seen in the elemental faiths of the human heart—faith in love, in truth, in fellowship, in coöperation, and in the spirit of forgiveness and sacrifice.”⁴

Henry T. Hodgkin, a well-known English Quaker, in writing of Lay Religion, sets forth very explicitly the Quaker conception of the functions of religion: “Religion cannot be reborn in our midst save as the faith of the common man, the glorious simple thing that all can share alike, that meets man’s every need, that transfigures everyday tasks, that is passed from one to another in market-place and factory, that enters into and transforms our social life, our individual system, our politics, our international relations, and our inter-racial intercourse. This was the kind of religion Jesus brought to men.”⁵ *It was this conception that provided the main dynamic for the Friends’ Relief Work in Europe.* Reports to the American Friends’ Service Committee from the workers whether rebuilding the homes of the peasants in the devastated regions of France, feeding the starving children of Germany, or ministering to the plague-stricken people of Russia, abound in references to their endeavor to keep before the people of each country that they were not there as partisans, but as lovers of humanity and believers in the brotherhood of man. No one has stated more clearly

⁴ Jones, Rufus M., *A Service of Love in War Time*, New York, 1920. Introduction, pp. 13-15.

⁵ Hodgkin, Henry T., *Lay Religion*, pp. 42-43, London, 1918.

the religious dynamic behind the activities of the Friends than has Harold Evans, one of the fifteen original members of the Friends' Mission. He said in speaking of their work: "Its permanent value depends not merely on the number of children fed or on the group who carry it on, but on the extent that it cuts at the root of the world's ills, which most of us will probably agree are due to mental and spiritual diseases even more than to physical causes.

"Many relief agencies have ministered splendidly to the physical needs of Europe, and in so doing have done much to restore broken spirits. Friends have attempted a somewhat different task. They are striving to feed not only hungering bodies but also hungering souls with faith and hope and love. They are trying to show that the dynamic of real life is the creative, not the possessive, instinct. They are helping to create the individual as opposed to the mass mind, subjectively by breasting the current of popular prejudices in going to Germany . . . at all; objectively, by trying to carry on their service in the spirit of real friendship which recognizes and respects each individual as a personality, a child of our common Father, and therefore our brother and sister." ⁶

⁶ Brooks, Sidney, *America and Germany*, New York, 1926, p. 175.

CHAPTER III

PRE-WAR UNPREPAREDNESS

Strange as it may seem the Quakers were only slightly less unprepared intellectually and spiritually for the shock of war than the other religious groups in America. Professor Rufus M. Jones, who is probably more competent than any other Friend in America to pass judgment on this subject, says: "When the Great War burst upon the world in the summer of 1914 Friends in America were not spiritually prepared to give an adequate interpretation of the ground and basis of their faith, nor were they clearly united upon a plan of action suited to and correspondent with their ideals of life. For more than 250 years this body of Christian people had adhered to an interpretation of Christianity which called for a way of life the practice of which was utterly incompatible with the spirit and method of war. The difficulty had been that this 'way of life' was often held in a nominal and traditional fashion and not vitally and freshly thought out in an up-to-date manner."¹

What Professor Jones says about war could with

¹ Jones, Rufus M., *A Service of Love in War Time*, New York, 1920, p. 3.

equal pertinence be said in regard to the Quaker attitude toward many other social problems as will be pointed out later, but certainly the evidence is overwhelming that the Quakers along with millions of others had come to look upon a great international conflict as an impossibility. As the editor of the *American Friend* said in substance to the writer, "Friends accepted the current dicta that the tremendous growth of international commerce and banking made a world war unthinkable; so it seemed superfluous to agitate against something which would never happen." A survey of "The Friend," "The American Friend," and "The Friends' Intelligencer," the three leading organs of the Quakers, shows that they gave comparatively little space to the subject of War and Peace in the decade prior to the Great War. Similarly a perusal of the proceedings of the various yearly meetings fails to reveal any constructive efforts in the reports of the peace committee to promote peace or to educate the rising generation in Quaker peace principles. It should be said, however, that "The Friends' Intelligencer" put some emphasis on the subject, and that occasionally the chairman of a peace committee of a yearly meeting sounded a note of warning. The following report of one yearly meeting comprising sixty-nine local meetings is fairly typical of the activity of a majority of the yearly meetings. The chairman reported twenty-nine peace sermons and fourteen addresses on peace, thirty-nine petitions to Congress against fortifying the Panama Canal, and the distribution of 2,500 pages of tracts. The Com-

mittee spent about thirty dollars.² The next year this same yearly meeting did a bit of effective educational work by sending one hundred copies of David Starr Jordan's "The Blood of the Nation" to all the pastors. The report ends with the following sentence: "We feel that there is need of greater activity along the lines of peace work among Friends and elsewhere if the persistent influence of militarism is (to be) overcome."³ That it was not overcome in a way to maintain clearly the Friends' position in some parts of the country is evidenced from the following figures gathered by the American Friends' Service Committee and reported at the annual gathering of the Western Yearly Meeting. Replies were received from 57 out of 89 local meetings. These 57 meetings reported 787 men of draft age, 370 who had either been drafted or had volunteered, 324 of these accepted combatant service, 41 had accepted non-combatant service, and 5 had refused any service under military direction. Under Appendix iv, pp. 119-120 of the minutes of this same meeting is a digest of epistles from other yearly meetings. The following is typical: "Some of the epistles refer to the testing of our Young Friends in maintaining our peace testimony and also of many who have in unselfish devotion to an ideal, entered military service. New York Yearly Meeting says that 'both these classes need our love and prayers that whatever their conscience may dictate the bright star of Bethlehem may always be above our flag,

² Minutes of Iowa Yearly Meeting, 1911.

³ Ibid., 1912.

leading them to help save a world for the Democracy which shall be of God.' ”⁴

Very incomplete figures from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting held at Fourth and Arch Streets and for the Friends' General Conference give us some idea of the number of Friends who did not feel bound by the Quaker peace principles in the World War. The Arch Street meeting reported 299 members of draft age, 50 in military service (mostly non-combatant), 27 in Friends' Reconstruction Unit, and 7 conscientious objectors in camp, no report from 61, and the remainder presumably had not been called. The Advancement Committee gave out the following figures covering the 18,000 members of the Friends' General Conference. Nine hundred and fifty-four men were of draft age, 143 were in military service, 26 were in the Friends' Reconstruction Unit, seven were conscientious objectors in camp, no report from 237, and the remainder, presumably, had not been called. Sixteen of their members either over or under draft age had enlisted.⁵

⁴ Minutes of the Western Yearly Meeting, 1919.

⁵ The Friends' Intelligencer, Apr. 6, 1918.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZATION AND PURPOSE OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

On April 30, 1917, the Young Friends Building in Philadelphia was the scene of a meeting destined to lead the Friends into lines of service and forms of co-operation, the final significance of which cannot yet be measured. It was a small group of fourteen, eleven men and three women, representing three groups of Friends. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) was represented by Alfred G. Scattergood, Charles J. Rhodes, Stanley R. Yarnall, Henry W. Comfort, and Anne G. Walton. The Friends General Conference, which is the central body for the seven yearly meetings of the Hicksite branch of Friends, was represented by Jesse H. Holmes, Lucy Biddle Lewis, Arabella Carter, and William H. Cooks. The largest group of Friends in America, whose central body is called the Five Years' Meeting (Orthodox), was represented by L. Hollingsworth Wood, Homer Morris, and Vincent D. Nicholson. Henry J. Cadbury and J. Barnard Walton were unofficially in attendance.¹ This group was a fair

¹ For further details see Jones, R. M., *A Service of Love in War Time*.

sample of the best traditions and the ripe fruitage of nearly two hundred and fifty years of Quaker history in America. It was not a group distinguished for wealth, political power, or social prestige. It was, however, a strong group, and particularly so after the committee was enlarged and made representative of the various groups of American Friends. Among the persons added were Rufus M. Jones, who was made chairman; Charles F. Jenkins, who became treasurer; Henry Tatnall Brown and Morris E. Leeds, prominent manufacturers, and Wilbur K. Thomas who later became the untiring secretary of the organization. The group contained business men, bankers and manufacturers of more than average ability, professional men of ripe scholarship and keen insight, and others of wide experience and deep interest in philanthropic work, but their real power lay in their integrity and in the sincerity and unity of their desire to harmonize two apparently conflicting loyalties. To make their position clear they adopted the following minute: "We are united in expressing our love for our country and our desire to serve her loyally. We offer our services to the Government of the United States in any constructive work in which we can conscientiously serve humanity."²

Little did this committee realize as they planned a budget of \$115,000 for the first year for the purpose of sending a few scores of relief workers into France that this work would grow under their hands until, in the course of seven years, it would involve six hundred

² Ibid., p. 9.

workers directing fifty to sixty thousand volunteer European helpers in the distribution of twenty-five-million dollars' worth of food and other supplies to six or seven millions of people. They did realize clearly, however, as they saw many of their young men preparing to enter military service that "the Society of Friends in America stood at a sharp parting of the ways. One path led upward toward the fulfillment of our duty to a suffering and shattered world. The other path led through comfortable indifference to a betrayal of our present mission, a weakening of our future influence, and our spiritual death."³

In a 1924 bulletin the secretary of the American Friends' Service Committee said: "The immediate purpose of the American Friends' Service Committee in 1917 was twofold: (a) To assist the English Friends in their relief work in the devastated regions of France, and (b) to give the members of the Society of Friends and those who were in sympathy with Friends an opportunity to be of service."⁴

Looking at their work in retrospect one feels that the second of these purposes proved to be much more important than the first, even though the French work reached greater proportions than the Friends anticipated. The Service Committee became the general headquarters from which the activities of 120,000 Quakers in widely scattered detachments were directed.

³ Bulletin No. 8, American Friends' Service Committee, Dec. 15, 1917.

⁴ Bulletin No. 60, American Friends' Service Committee (1924 Bulletin. Exact date not given).

Not that the committee exercised or attempted to exercise any authority over individuals or groups, but it provided a unified leadership to which the somewhat dazed and inarticulate mass gladly turned for direction. Soon thousands of Quaker women were sewing and knitting as industriously for the relief of poverty-stricken civilians of the war-zone as other women sewed and knitted for the boys in khaki. Leaders in the Service Committee busied themselves in arranging for the selection and training of the Haverford Unit of one hundred picked men for relief work in France. The Service Committee was active in securing the passage of an act by Congress whereby sincere conscientious objectors to war might be furloughed by the secretary of war either for agriculture in this country or for reconstruction work in France under the American Friends' Service Committee. Members of this committee or persons acting for them gave what comfort and encouragement they could to conscientious objectors in the army camps and gave advice to Friends concerning the securing of exemptions from military service in order to engage in civilian relief work under their own organization. In this connection we must mention the name of William B. Harvey, secretary of the Exemption Committee of Philadelphia Representative Meeting (Orthodox) whose untiring energy and understanding spirit settled many a draft tangle and also brought the Friends and Mennonites into more intimate relations. Finally, the Service Committee, through its representatives, had to work out the details of their rela-

tion to the Civilian Branch of the Red Cross and to raise money throughout their constituency to finance their work abroad.

So straightforward, upright, and efficient did the American Friends' Service Committee prove itself in the first year of small beginnings that when the opportunity came for large post-war reconstruction tasks people in both public and private life, both at home and abroad, turned naturally to the Friends. Thus did the faithful in a few things become the rulers over many things. The Quakers were fortunate in that, at least, two men in high official positions understood their motives and had confidence in their ability and integrity. These men were Herbert Hoover, a birthright Friend, who later invited the Quakers to undertake the child-feeding operations in Germany, and Grayson Murphy, Chief of the American Red Cross in France, who was at one time a student at Haverford College and an intimate friend of Rufus M. Jones. In introducing a committee of Friends to Henry P. Davison, Director of Foreign War-Relief Work, Mr. Murphy said: "I know the Friends of old and I can guarantee to you that if they promise to do a piece of work *they will do it, and they will do it well.*"⁵ These men were instrumental in giving the Quakers the opportunity for service which they sought. Then without fear or favor, with singleness of purpose, in meekness and in humility, they proceeded to bind up the nations' wounds, physical and spiritual.

⁵ Jones, op. cit., p. 10.

CHAPTER V

WAR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN FRANCE

The story of the American Friends' efforts to bring a message of love and sympathy as well as material relief to the war-ravaged people of France has already been told with an intimacy and understanding possible only to one who had first-hand contact with the whole undertaking. Dr. Rufus M. Jones brought the story down to 1920 in his heart-warming book, "A Service of Love in War Time." For me to attempt to do more than to bring his story down to date, and to summarize the activities in France prior to 1920 for the sake of completeness of my work, would be presumptuous.

Two agencies, one American and the other English, made it possible for the American Friends to assist the French people more quickly, efficiently, and extensively than would otherwise have been possible. In the first place, the workers went over as members of the Civilian Branch of the American Red Cross, an organization which, time and again, gave the Friends grants of money and supplies which enabled them to meet emergency needs. In the second place, the first contingent of American workers became a part of the British Friends unit which had been in France since

December, 1914, under the name of "La Mission de la Société des Amis." The American Friends profited greatly from the three years' experience of the British in the building and erection of demountable houses, in agricultural work in the devastated regions, in medical work and nursing, and in relief work. Homer Folks, Director of Civil Affairs of the American Red Cross, paid the British Friends this compliment: "The Red Cross looks on the Society of Friends as in a sense its expert leaders. There is no group of people from whom we have learned so much."¹ Thus it happened that a group of zestful American youth found themselves under the direction of staid and older leaders from England. This arrangement resulted in a minimum of false moves, although it produced some friction.

Fifty-four members of the American Friends' Reconstruction Unit Number One arrived in Paris on September 14, 1917, where they were joined by a dozen or more who had come a week earlier. This group was soon scattered among the various departments of service—Medical, Building, Works, Manufacturing, Agriculture, and Relief.

On the way across the Americans supposed that they would be sent first to Dole to build demountable houses, but the need for reconstruction work in the region of the Aisne, Somme, and the Oise was so great that about 50 English and American Friends were assigned to this task. In the first year of American co-operation they plowed 580 acres, half of which they

¹ Jones, Rufus M., *op. cit.*, p. 58.

seeded themselves; they cut 250 acres of hay and 100 acres of grain; distributed 12,000 francs worth of seed, and sold 70,000 francs worth of binder twine. In addition to this their repair department rendered an even more important service by repairing 600 mowers and binders requiring 4,500 repairs. The Friends also had 53 mowers, 18 binders, and 25 other pieces of farm machinery, which they lent and kept in repair.²

The Friends also interested themselves in restocking the farms with livestock with a view to increasing the food supply. They turned naturally to animals which multiply rapidly and mature quickly. "Thousands of rabbits, therefore, were distributed by the Friends' Unit in the district of the Meuse and the Marne, and later, by the help of incubators, thousands of less appealing chickens, besides some few goats, and several hundred sheep. . . . Two or three bee specialists among the members of the Unit also worked hard to build up a stock of bees for distribution, to add to the resources of the more or less sugarless French."³

Another urgent need of the peasants was for habitable dwellings. In many sections of northern France entire villages were demolished by the invaders, not only were their houses destroyed, but their furniture and much of their bedding was left behind in the wild scramble to keep out of the clutches of the rapidly advancing foe. "At first," says Rufus M. Jones, "as soon as it was safe to do so, the refugees crept back to live

² First Annual Report of Charles Evans, Chief of Friends Unit in France to the American Red Cross.

³ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

in the cellars or amid the ruins of their beloved villages, but the experiment proved costly. The cellar life and the terrible exposures to weather produced a great amount of tuberculosis and kindred diseases. Gradually the authorities forbade the refugees to return to the villages until they had suitable homes to live in.”⁴ The British Friends had established a factory at Dole in the Jura, but this was inadequate to supply the need: so that with the coming of the American Unit a second factory was started at Ornans. The American Red Cross aided materially by making grants for the milling machinery, for the purchase of additional timber, and for the purchase of furniture, beds, mattresses, sheets, and toweling, which the Friends held for resale. The purchasers paid three-fourths of the cost price in monthly installments. “From 1914 to the end of 1918, 543 houses were built and 46 houses repaired in 41 villages of the departments of the Aisne, Marne, Meuse, Somme, Doube, Jura and Aube, housing over 2,000 people. In addition 35 stables and barns were put up and 40 huts and barracks either for hospital work of the Mission or the housing of the workers. Reference should also be made to a considerable amount of sanitary work which was done—wells were cleansed, water analyzed, and better sanitation carried out at Sermaize, where the hotel, overcrowded with refugees, threatened to become a source of great danger.”⁵ If the total seems disappointingly small, it should be remembered

⁴ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

⁵ Fry, Ruth A., *A Quaker Adventure*, p. 33.

that the men were greatly handicapped at times by lack of equipment and especially by transport delays. A better idea of their capabilities will appear when we come to the post-war "Verdun Project."

The Friends did not attempt to do very much temporary relief work as this was carried on efficiently by other agencies. The aggregate, however, for the year ending June 30, 1918, was considerable. They distributed 11,172 articles of clothing, 855 pairs of shoes, 3,573 pieces of furniture and household equipment, 707 meters of cloth, and 65 kilos of food. This last item was all at one place.⁶

A form of relief work that is rather out of the ordinary came to the Friends in the Spring of 1918 in the form of evacuation work in the Somme Region. They helped to get the baggage of the refugees to the trains, sought out the aged, the crippled, and the sick, worked in the canteens where the people were fed, helped to convoy six hundred insane patients from Amiens to Lourdes, and later on they helped to evacuate the maternity hospital at Rheims which was accomplished under heavy shell fire by means of four cars in two days. Their most extensive piece of work was in connection with the drive of May 26 between Rheims and Soissons. They found many refugees huddled in the deep chalk cellars of the district. The report says: "The work continued almost a week. Our cars were frequently under shell fire, especially at cross roads,

⁶ First Annual Report of Charles Evans, Chief of Friends Unit in France, to the American Red Cross.

and were forced to wait for darkness to visit the most exposed positions. The weather was excellent and the drivers could sleep their four hours on the grass in the open country which was safer than available shelter. Our cars registered eight thousand miles in this evacuation without casualty or accident." ⁷

THE VERDUN AREA RESTORED

This piece of work is presented as a unit instead of being included under the various departments described above, because this was the culminating piece of reconstruction of the Friends' Mission, and because all previous lines of activity and some additional ones were here coördinated and pushed forward under more favorable conditions than was possible before the armistice. As early as December, 1917, the Sub-Prefect of Verdun asked the Friends to take sole charge of the reconstruction work of Verdun with the coming of peace. This district of two hundred square miles stretched westward from Verdun to Clermont-en-Argonne and contained about forty villages. Some of the fiercest fighting of the war took place in this area. Its magnificent forests and blooming orchards were mutilated; probably ninety-five per cent of the buildings were destroyed; and the soil, naturally poor, was, in many places, rendered untillable. And yet, so strong is the French peasants' attachment to the soil that only five per cent of the three thousand circularized by the

⁷ First Annual Report of Charles Evans, Chief of Friends Unit in France, to the American Red Cross, p. 11.

Mission did not express a strong desire to return at once.

Early in January all of the old lines of activity, with the exception of manufacturing, and two additional ones (to be explained later) were being carried on in the Verdun region. By midsummer the Mission was going at top-speed and had reached its peak in numbers with 547 workers, 347 of whom were Americans. A large estate known as Grange-le-Compte, on which were barracks left by the American army, was made the headquarters of the Mission and from this center the work was pushed in three directions—north, east, and west. How different was their situation from the years preceding! Then supplies, transportation, and equipment were hard to obtain and their every move was of necessity hedged about by military regulations; now the railroads of the section agreed to carry without charge the materials for the reconstruction of the area and the American officers in charge of the liquidation of army supplies in France gave them the free use of forty motor cars and trucks. In the old days they could get additional help only from women, aged men, and crippled soldiers; now they were assigned a group of German prisoners. The Friends accepted them under the honor system, refusing to guard them. The prisoners were well fed and gave the Quakers no trouble. During the war-years, materials were hard to obtain, but now largely due to the sagacity and energy of J. Henry Scattergood, Charles Rhoads, and Rufus M. Jones, reconstruction materials were found in their own

dooryard—like manna in the Wilderness. I refer to the fact that three of the largest engineers' dumps of the United States Army were located in the very heart of this region. The Friends bought those of the United States at a very reasonable figure. "This material covered many acres at each dump and consisted of lumber, bar-iron, and steel, farm and road implements of every sort, miles upon miles of barbed wire, and an almost indescribable melange of all materials which might be used in a modern war."⁸ Materials not suitable for use in reconstruction work were sold to French commercial houses in various parts of the country. Profits made from these sales were turned into the Department of Purchases and Sales to further the work of the Coöperative Stores.

The initial capital of about fifty thousand dollars for the coöperative stores was provided by the London and Philadelphia Committees. These stores did a fine piece of work in providing necessities to the returning inhabitants at very low prices. As Miss Fry wrote:

"It was realized that returning to a wilderness they would need to acquire everything afresh from a pin to a harrow, and it fell to our mission to provide them. Shops were accordingly set up in thirteen centres which supplied about five thousand families in two hundred villages. . . . In some shops the weekly takings would be on an average ten thousand francs per week. Tools and farm implements sold steadily, crockery as fast as it could be obtained, and dress materials were most popular. In addition one of the mission cars went the round of villages too distant for the inhab-

⁸ Jones, Rufus M., *op. cit.*, p. 233.

itants to come to the shops, taking them their goods. In some places even bread had to be distributed. The turnover in thirteen months' work amounted to 3,574,109 francs."⁹

"During the six months from June to December the sale of farm supplies alone amounted to 560,786 francs and contained such items as the following: 18,000 chickens, 6,000 rabbits (which came too fast to be counted accurately), 460 goats, 698 sheep, 229 pigs, 87 cattle, 41 horses, and 626 bee colonies, with 360 more to be delivered."¹⁰

When the mission closed up its French reconstructive and relief work on April 1, 1920, they had a balance of over four million francs in money and supplies. "This balance was made up of the capital funds which had been turned over many times in the Coöperative Stores, the profits of the army dumps, the sale of Mission property and several hundred thousand francs' worth of undistributed relief supplies. It was disposed of as follows: One million two hundred and fifty thousand francs for Chalons Maternity, 793,000 francs capital funds returned to American Friends Service Committee, 500,000 francs worth of food, clothing and miscellaneous material sent to Germany, Austria, Poland, and Serbia; 600,000 francs' worth of motor transport sent to Vienna to be held for all Friends Missions in Europe. The balance of nearly a million francs was turned over to the Joint Commissioners for

⁹ Fry, A. Ruth, *A Quaker Adventure*, London, 1926, pp. 94-5.

¹⁰ Jones, Rufus M., *op. cit.*, p. 232.

Europe, appointed by the English and American Committees.”¹¹

MEDICAL RELIEF WORK

One hesitates to write a summary of this type of relief because no mere enumeration of numbers treated can convey any adequate idea of the results obtained from the standpoint of the Quaker objective; namely, opportunity by thought, word, and deed to live a Way of Life little considered in 1914-1918. The ministrations of doctor or nurse are so direct and intimate, touching the recipient often when he is most receptive and sympathetic, that this work must have made an impression far beyond the numbers of persons treated.

A minor service, although one bringing great joy to the recipient, was the fitting of many hundred people with spectacles. Another valuable piece of work was the dental service carried on especially in 1919. One dentist alone, Dr. Maris of the American Unit, treated five hundred members of the Mission, over eight hundred French, and about two hundred German prisoners. A third form of service which was much appreciated was the visits of Quaker doctors to villages without any resident physician and the holding of clinics by the nurses connected with the Mission.

The Friends established four convalescent homes, where refugee women and children suffering from the effect of the war could recuperate. “The health condition of the civilian population in the devastated areas

¹¹ Bulletin number 33, American Friends Service Committee, pp. 2-3.

of France was appalling and became even more serious as year by year the tragedy accumulated. . . . Every wrecked village had its long tale of woes. Under-feeding brought, as it always does, its terrible toll of ill which were vastly increased because the local doctor was no longer there to help."¹²

The outstanding medical institutions conducted by the Friends were the Chalons Maternity Hospital and the general hospital at Sermaize in the Marne. The latter institution was opened by the British Friends soon after their arrival. About three years later another hospital was opened by Dr. James A. Babbitt of the American Unit in another part of the town in the Château of Sermaize. This hospital was well equipped and ministered to a wide area. Twelve hundred operations, many of them major ones, were performed in the year the hospital was located in the Château, then the hospital was moved to Brizeaux in the southern part of the "Verdun Area," where it ministered to the thousands of returning exiles. In the middle of the summer, it was moved to a more central location at Clermont-en-Argonne where it occupied a hospital building formerly maintained by Roman Catholic Sisters. This old building was renovated and modern hospital equipment installed. After the Friends' reconstruction work was completed, this plant with the new equipment was turned over to the Catholic Sisters.

The first hospital and the one destined to remain as a memorial of the Friends' work in France was the

¹² Jones, Rufus M., *op. cit.*, p. 144.

Maternity Hospital at Chalons-sur-Marne opened by the British, December 14, 1914. Nine hundred and eighty-one children were born and one thousand nine hundred and nine other infants and children were nursed in the institution during the five years that the hospital was run by the Mission. After the war was over the Friends erected a memorial hospital at a cost of one million nine hundred thousand francs. The new building was formally dedicated June 17, 1922. The American Red Cross stocked the dispensary and donated various materials toward the physical equipment. There are thirty beds for mothers, thirty cradles for babies, as well as thirty beds for delicate children. Close to three thousand children will have been born in this institution with the Quaker star over the entrance by June 1, 1926.

The Friends deeded the land and buildings free of cost to the Marne government which appointed a self-perpetuating committee to supervise the work of the hospital. The Friends also provided sufficient endowment to pay the salaries of the staff for ten years. The money came partly from profits on the sale of the army dumps and partly from subscriptions in England and America. So far two English and two American girls have been sent each year as nurses' helpers to maintain the Friendly international character of the enterprise.¹³

The Friends are attempting to further international

¹³ Bulletin No. 52, American Friends Service Committee. Also Fry, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-66 for intimate story of its work.

understanding and to urge certain humanitarian movements by maintaining a center at Paris. Here three full time and two part time workers are kept busy making addresses, publishing a monthly magazine, "L'Echo des Amis," putting travelers in touch with the most worthwhile people and movements, and bringing important lecturers to the center. Alfred Lowry, in charge of the Paris work, says: "Lectures have been given on our premises by well-known men such as George Pioch, André Rupert, Armand Charpentier, Fernand Maurette, Robert Lange, etc., on a great diversity of subjects from conscientious objection to various economic questions, or the League of Nations."¹⁴ The Paris Center formed a federation of ten small pacifist societies in France and took an active part in the universal Peace Congress held in Paris in September, 1925.

One special piece of work is worthy of mention. Gerda Kappenburg, one of the workers at the Paris Center, has devoted all of her time during the past year to pressing reforms in the women's prisons of Paris. The Ministry of Justice is now proposing to close gradually the prison of St. Lazare (a reform solicited in vain for the past hundred years) and to separate first offenders from habitual criminals.¹⁵

¹⁴ Report of the American Friends Service Committee for 1925-26, p. 3.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

CHAPTER VI

WAR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN GERMANY— FIRST PERIOD

For months before the signing of the treaty of peace with Germany both the American and English Friends had been under a deep conviction that Germany's spiritual need was even greater than her material needs. The Friends were bringing to a close a fine piece of work in France where they had disseminated their message of brotherly love and helpfulness, and they were doubly anxious to carry the same message into Germany. They wanted Germany and the world to know that their work in France was not as partisans of the French, but as friends of humanity. The Friends had heard of the desperate need of food in Germany and their sensitive natures made them sure that the Germans needed the ministrations of the Friendly spirit in reorganizing their philosophy of life. The result was that just one week after the signing of the treaty of peace at Weimar three representatives of the American Friends arrived in Berlin by way of Holland crossing the border on the first civilian passports issued there since the signing of peace. These representatives

were Carolena M. Wood, Jane Addams, and Dr. Alice Hamilton. In addition to the two last named specialists, Dr. Aletta Jacobs, a Dutch physician, was asked as a neutral to join the American group in making observations on health conditions in Germany. An English Friends' Committee composed of Marion C. Fox, Joan M. Fry, J. Thompson Elliott, and Max Bellows came to Berlin by way of Cologne, arriving there on July sixth, just one day ahead of the Americans.

These two groups formed a joint committee of eight and held a conference with the representatives of various German organizations for the care and protection of children. A central committee, on which were such leaders as Dr. Elizabeth Rotten, representatives of the work of English Friends in Germany; Dr. Albert Levy, head of the Central für Privats fürsorge; Sigmund Schultze, head of the Municipal Jugend fürsorgeamt; and Dr. Alice Salomon, head of the Berlin School of Philanthropy, was formed to aid the Friends in the distribution of \$30,000 worth of food and twenty-five tons of new clothing provided by the American Friends.

The Committee of eight then divided into two groups. The English Friends went into the industrial regions of the Ruhr Valley; the American Committee went into the industrial cities of Saxony, Leipzig, Halle, and Chemnitz, where the need was especially great. Later the American Committee worked in pairs, Dr. Jacobs and Carolena Woods going to Breslau and the

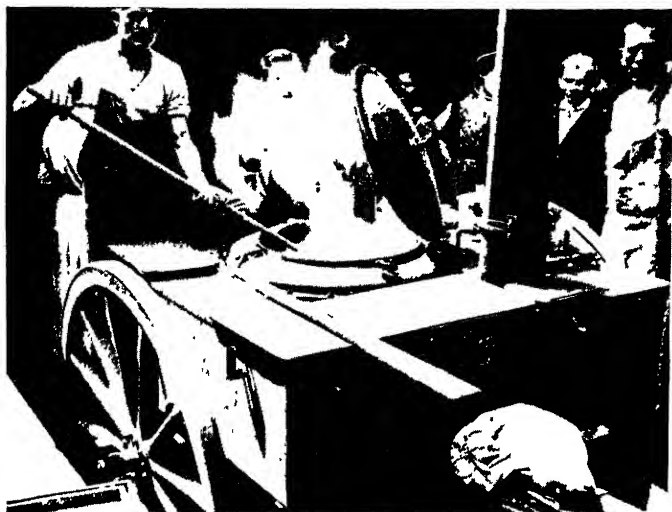
neighboring villages, and Dr. Hamilton and Jane Addams going into the villages in South Saxony and then to Frankfurt-am-Main.¹

The report of Jane Addams and Dr. Alice Hamilton to the American Friends' Service Committee revealed conditions of mental helplessness, moral deterioration, and physical undernourishment that would have appalled the American people in normal times; but four years of war had accustomed us to suffering on a large scale, four years of propaganda against Germany had made us distrustful of any evidence of sympathy or kindness toward the Germans. Consequently, comparatively few Americans, outside of those German-Americans who have relatives in the Fatherland, have any conception of the havoc wrought in Germany by at least eight years of slow starvation.

It would be outside of the scope of this work to make a detailed analysis of the mental and physical effects of years of undernourishment coupled with serious malnutrition. Sufficient illustrations, however, will be given from the mass of personal testimony and documentary evidence available, to set in relief the need for the kind of work the Quakers later performed. The following specific cases and general descriptions are not exceptional, but are typical of conditions in many parts of Germany.

Robert J. Lunnon, an English Quaker, visited the occupied portion of Germany early in July and wrote

¹ For fuller statement see Bulletin No. 25, American Friends' Service Committee (1920, exact date not given).



Photographed by Wm. Eves 3rd, Chief of the German Child-Feeding Mission.

Above Army field kitchen used for child feeding, Leipzig, 1920.

Below One means of transporting food from a central kitchen to a feeding center, Leipzig, 1920. Note thermos bottles to keep the food hot.

the following account of his visit to a hospital in Cologne:

"There were girls and boys of six years old, with leg bones that I could bend, and soft skulls that I pressed, limbs deformed to many shapes, bones that gave no shadow at all under the X-rays; tiny shrivelled bodies covered with a queer inelastic skin that could be moved about in folds or smoothed flat. A child of fourteen months weighing eight pounds, one of five months weighing four and one-half pounds, one of six years measuring two feet and two inches, these were typical. Three babies had newly come in from a nursery home, babies of three and four months, they looked like skinny trussed fowls, and hardly larger. I shivered and begged to be shown no more."²

The following passages from the report of Jane Addams and Alice Hamilton to the American Friends' Service Committee in 1919 as to the effects of the war and blockade are illuminating. "Already the school children of Leipzig average two to four centimeters shorter than the pre-war average. In Frankfurt we were told that the average loss of weight for the younger children is nine to ten per cent, and for the older ten to fifteen per cent. . . . In the orthopedic ward of the Charité (the great University Hospital of Berlin) ninety per cent of all the children are rachitic. . . . There were children of two, three, four, and even six and seven years who had learned to walk and then gradually lost ability to so much as stand alone."³

² Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

³ Report of Jane Addams and Dr. Alice Hamilton to the American Friends' Service Committee in 1919.

Other diseases which are very rare among children began to appear. War dropsy developed among children fed on carbohydrates only. In one Berlin orphanage, the entire group of 150 children was dropsical. Infantile scurvy became common due to the lack of milk and eggs in their diet. Profound anæmia in young children, a rare thing in most countries, began to appear. One child had only thirty per cent of red coloring matter in the blood. The unusual phenomenon of pulmonary tuberculosis in babies was pointed out to Dr. Hamilton in Frankfurt.⁴ Children suffered severely from skin diseases due to the lack of soap. In this connection the above mentioned report says: "We were shown their scalded little bodies, their heads covered with scales, the bleeding surfaces in the folds of groins and arms. The treatment for such conditions is very unsatisfactory for Germany has absolutely no medical oils, no vaseline or other bland ointment to soften the scales and assist in the healing process. For soap there is still only the heavy slab of chalky material which is very irritating to delicate skin, and to wash inflamed eyes there is no absorbent cotton, only tissue paper. The result is that these forms of skin diseases in children sometimes progress to a dangerous point."⁵

The prolonged food blockade, however, showed its most dire consequences in the spread of the Great White Plague in German cities. Twenty-five years ago

⁴Report of Jane Addams and Dr. Alice Hamilton to the American Friends' Service Committee in 1919.

⁵Ibid.

at the International Congress of Tuberculosis in London (1900) it was predicted on the basis of improvement in the preceding thirty years that forty years would see the practical elimination of this plague both in England and Germany. The war has put Germany back to the point she had reached in the eighties before Koch's discovery of the tubercular bacillus had made possible modern methods of control. The American Friends' Service Committee Bulletin for 1920 reports that deaths from tuberculosis in Berlin show an increase for the last three years of approximately forty per cent for men and sixty per cent for women above the average figures for 1913-16.

The great increase in the amount of tuberculosis and other diseases is not to be wondered at when we realize that the milk supply in the large cities was reduced to one-seventh and in some places to one-fifteenth of the normal amount; that fats including cod liver oil were almost entirely lacking, and that in most cities the ration cards provided for only thirteen hundred to sixteen hundred calories of food per day, whereas a man needs around three thousand calories. Reports from many different sources tell of individuals who lost from sixty to eighty pounds in weight. Official and confidential German government reports prepared by experts came into the hands of the Allies. These reports had been kept secret from the German people. Sidney Brooks says of them: "They described reduction of bread ration by one-half after six months of war, rapidly reduced meat supplies to one-seventh of normal, of fats

to one-third, and almost complete disappearance of sugar, eggs, potatoes, and milk. Bulky non-varying, unappetizing food, a monotony unbroken, brought insidious, destructive effects on the people. . . . During war years about 800,000 more civilians died than normally, mainly from causes depending in some way on lack of food.”⁶ Even this brief summary will have prepared the reader for the findings of the Friends in the winter of 1920 that, “In the larger cities of which there are about 100 of over 50,000 population, the number of children badly in need of some supplementary feeding appears to average about five per cent of the total population. As these cities have a population of about 19,000,000, we felt that about 950,000 should be fed. This did not include the mothers or the needy children in the smaller towns, of which there are many. Probably to have really met greatest need during the past spring, rations for between 1,000,000 and 1,250,000 should have been served.”⁷ This estimate, it should be noted, does not take in adults, except nursing and expectant mothers.

How was it possible for Germany a whole year after the armistice to be in such desperate straits? Undoubtedly there were many contributing factors, such as a depreciated currency, economic stagnation due partly to lack of such capital goods as railway engines; the weakness of a new government which could not com-

⁶ Brooks, Sidney, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

⁷ Report of German Child Feeding Mission to the American Friends' Service Committee, June 30, 1920.

mandeer and ration food as effectively as did the Kaiser's government in war-time, but the blockade which lasted for seven months after the armistice was undoubtedly a big factor. On the third of March Mr. Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons, said: "We are enforcing the blockade with rigor . . . this weapon of starvation falls mainly upon the women and children, upon the old, the weak and the poor, after all the fighting has stopped."⁸ Men of high position in all walks of life protested against the blockade, but none more so than the soldiers in the Army of Occupation who frequently shared their rations and the boxes from home with the German people.

Ruth Fry charitably remarks: "It is indeed hard to realize that kind-hearted people, who are to be found in every English Government, should have deliberately allowed the starvation of German women and children by the blockade to continue for seven months after the signing of the Armistice. This meant widespread suffering to women and children, who could in no sense be considered to have any share in the responsibility for the war, and, the Armistice having been concluded, I feel that it must have been a lack of imagination in those who allowed it to continue, which prevented their understanding what was its effect on human life."⁹

As a matter of fact, the blockade seems to have been deliberately used as an easy means of forcing Germany

⁸ Quoted by Norman Angell, *Nation*, vol. 108, p. 980.

⁹ Fry, A. Ruth, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

to sign a peace treaty which she felt was not only extremely onerous in its exactions, but also was a monstrous injustice in that it forced Germany to accept the entire blame for the beginning of the war. Germany was very obstinate in her refusal to yield, and did not sign the treaty until the Allied forces were on the point of invading her territory. The blockade appears to be a logical outcome of a philosophy of Force with its evil brood of Secret Diplomacy, Balance of Power, and Nationalistic Aggression. It would seem, therefore, that none of the powers, Germany included, who, by their acts, have subscribed to this philosophy, should be squeamish over the stunting or premature death of a few more hundreds of thousands of human beings.

If one accepts the political philosophy that governed the European powers in 1914, namely, that it is all right to stunt, maim, and kill women and children in order to gain a victor's peace, it is difficult to understand why it is wrong to do the same thing to enforce a victor's peace.

The Quakers with a very different philosophy felt keenly that both the war and the blockade were blunders. They believed that both were morally indefensible, and that the blockade was a mistake even from the standpoint of the political purposes of the Allies. They knew it was engendering ill-will which would require a century to efface. Consequently they were anxious to get into Germany not only to relieve suffering but to spread the message of good-will.

AN UNEXPECTED OPPORTUNITY

Spurred on by Jane Addams' report of the material and spiritual need in Germany, the Quakers were planning in the autumn of 1919 to send over a small group of men and women to distribute probably \$50,000 worth of supplies and to render whatever service willing hands and sympathetic hearts could find to do. They were agreeably surprised, one day in early November, to receive a visit in Philadelphia from Herbert Hoover, chairman of the American Relief Administration. After talking it over with a small group of the Friends, and corresponding with the chairman of the American Friends' Service Committee, an agreement was reached which Mr. Hoover restated in a letter to the American Friends' Service Committee under date of November 17, 1919:

Chairman American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Jones:

I beg to confirm the understanding with regard to our arrangement that you should further expand your organization of relief work for undernourished children in Germany. As I explained to you, the European Children's Fund, under my direction, is at present engaged in the special feeding of some 3,000,000 under-nourished children in various parts of Europe and there has been placed in the hands of this fund certain moneys for extension of this work in Germany.

There can be no question as to the need of further expansion of the service that your society has been for some months carrying on in Germany. The vital statistics as to

mortality and morbidity of German child life are sufficient evidence of this, aside from the personal knowledge I have as to the actual nutritional situation amongst children.

The food situation in all parts of Europe affects child life more than any other element in that community, because the destruction of cattle and the shortage of cattle-feed will continue the milk famine over this coming winter with great severity. Despite the suffering and losses imposed upon the American people through the old German Government, I do not believe for a moment that the real American would have any other wish than to see any possible service done in protection of child life wherever it is in danger. We have never fought with women and children.

I particularly turn to you, because I am anxious that efforts of this kind should not become the subject of political propaganda. The undoubted probity, ability, and American character of the Quakers for generations will prevent any such use being made of your service, and for this reason, I propose that the funds at my disposal should be devoted exclusively to your support.

In order that you may have definite support upon which you may rely, the European Children's Fund will undertake to furnish transportation, both railway and overseas, entirely free of charge to your society for any supplies that you may wish to dispatch for child relief from the United States to any point in Germany, up to next July. This office will also, if you desire, act free of charge as purchasing agent for any such supplies, handling them in combination with supplies for the sixteen other countries where work for children is in active progress. I understand that your society is prepared to pay the entire expenses of organization in the United States and of distribution in Germany and, therefore, any contribution made to you would be entirely expended in the purchase of foodstuffs ex-factory in the United States. with no deductions for management or transportation.

It is my understanding that your actual distribution in Germany is done through local German charitable societies already engaged in such work and will be supervised by Quaker delegates from the United States. I wish to express my appreciation of the wisdom of this basis of organization.

I believe there are many patriotic American citizens of German descent who will be willing and anxious to contribute to your society for this work. I strongly urge upon all such well-intended persons to support your society to the extent of their resources. The need is great. Your society has demonstrated its large abilities and sympathy. There will be no political complexion in your work. Subscriptions to you under these arrangements will secure a much larger result in actual food delivered than through any other sources.

Faithfully yours,
HERBERT HOOVER.

The American Friends' Service Committee was now faced with two tasks: (1) the raising of the money with which to buy the food for the relief of German children, and (2) the selecting of a competent corps of workers to supervise the distribution of the food in Germany. The former of these tasks, as we shall see, was beset with obstacles, but the latter was comparatively easy and the following group of eighteen well-equipped workers under the leadership of Alfred G. Scattergood, a Philadelphia banker, were soon chosen: M. M. Bailey, Robert W. Balderston, Julia E. Branson, Albert J. Brown, Richard L. Cary, Arthur M. Charles, Catherine M. Cox, Harold Evans, William Eves, 3rd, Jesse H. Holmes, Arthur C. Jackson,

Herman Newman, Caroline L. Nicholson, Caroline G. Norment, Dr. Henry E. Pratt, J. Edgar Rhoads, James G. Vail, and Emma T. R. Williams.

This group arrived in Berlin on January 2, 1920, ahead of their food supplies, which had been delayed, and began the difficult task of getting statistics as to the relative health of the people in various sections of the country, food shortage, and particularly the undernourishment and diseases of children. They also began making the preliminary contacts with public officials and with heads of private agencies whose coöperation was necessary to the success of their child-feeding program. The tension of those early days in Berlin will long remain vivid in the minds of both the Germans and the American Friends. Perhaps a few illustrations of the difficulties encountered and overcome will make the splendid coöperation at a later time between this handful of Americans and thousands of Germans all the more remarkable.

Whatever justification the historian may find for the blockade, this remains true—the German people could see no justification for it at the time. As Caroline Norment said to the writer, "The puzzlement in the minds of the common people was tremendous." Jane Addams, in addressing the American Friends' Service Committee, spoke of it as a "spiritual blockade" as well as a food blockade. Her remarks were summarized in the minutes as follows: "She found the German people in a state of bewilderment. Having been deceived by their political and military leaders they were now at an utter

loss to understand why the world hated them so much. She found a great many questions in their minds. They could not understand why the Allies had imposed a food blockade upon them, why their little children were permitted to starve to death, and why they had failed as a nation."¹⁰

Sometimes the Quaker workers had to overcome bitterness, resentment, and suspicion before they could get the coöperation necessary for the success of their undertaking. One worker was sent to visit a Volksschule in Berlin to plan with the authorities for the feeding of the children. An old man connected with the school turned loose upon her all his pent-up wrath against the Allies. Fortunately her command of German was too limited either to comprehend fully the force of his remarks or to make an adequate reply, so she confined herself to explaining, after he had subsided, that the Quakers were on a mission of mercy and had no political ax to grind. A German woman of ability and refinement talking with Julia E. Branson in 1924 about the experiences of those early days in 1920 confessed that she drove herself to go to Berlin to ask for food for Stettin. She hated to ask for food from the enemy, but when she met the Friends who were in charge and caught the spirit in which they were doing the work she felt as though she had received a sacrament. She felt so exalted in spirit that as she went home she kept hoping she would not meet anyone who

¹⁰ Minutes of the American Friends' Service Committee, May 28, 1919.

would speak to her and thus draw her mind away from this spiritual experience.¹¹

PLANS FOR THE FEEDING

This subject can be conveniently treated under four heads: (1) the classification of the children, (2) the organization of the work, (3) planning the menu, and (4) the actual feeding of the children.¹²

With the help of German physicians the children from two to four years of age were roughly grouped as follows:

Class 1.—Children who were in normal condition as far as growth and health were concerned.

Class 2.—Children whose undernourishment was not sufficiently serious to endanger their future health.

Class 3.—Children who were decidedly underweight or who showed evidence of serious, prolonged undernourishment which would affect their future health if relief were not given at once.

Class 4.—Children who were suffering from diseases as a result of malnutrition, such as, tuberculosis, rickets, serious anæmia, etc.

The children to be fed were selected from classes three and four, but tens of thousands even in these classes could not be fed, especially in the first few months while the organization was getting under way. Physicians said, again and again, that one of the hard-

¹¹ Personal interview with Julia E. Branson.

¹² Report of American Friends' Service Committee on German Child-Feeding Mission, June 30, 1920.

est things they were ever called upon to do was to tell hungry undernourished children that they could not grant them a food card. One of the workers told the writer that the most frequently heard hope expressed by the children at their examination after three months of feeding was that they would not have gained enough weight to be excluded from the Quaker feeding.

After many sessions the child specialists of Germany worked out a method of securing some uniformity of standards for admission to child feeding. This is known as the Rohrer Index Method. It is based on the relation between a child's weight and his height as compared with a standard which is supposed to be normal for German children. After a year's trial the Mission reported that the Rohrer Index had not given general satisfaction in determining what children should be fed. It seems that there was danger of too rigid application of the method. It had been valuable, however, in comparing the index figure of the same child at the beginning of the feeding period with those at the end. In nearly every case these figures when interpreted indicated decided gains on the part of the children.¹³

The Quakers started the organization of their work by dividing the non-occupied portions of Germany into eight districts. One or two American workers were then placed in charge of each district office. They worked in the closest coöperation with the Deutscher Zentral Ausschuss für die Auslandshilfe (the German Central

¹³ Report of American Friends' Service Committee on German Child Feeding Mission, June 30, 1921.

Committee in connection with Foreign Relief). This committee, usually called the D.Z.A., was an emergency committee formed on the initiative of the German government and composed of representatives of the various national agencies in Germany. The country was then divided into eight districts, and finally each city had its local committee representing the various philanthropic agencies of the place under the direction of a full-time salaried executive secretary. The German government paid the overhead expenses of this committee whose function was to secure the coördination and coöperation of various private agencies with foreign relief work.

The Quakers refused to undertake child-feeding in any German city until the latter had appointed a local committee representative of the various philanthropic agencies. Then the Friends put as much as possible of the detailed work on this local committee, but insisted on strict control and rather elaborate detailed reports. These reports embraced the following points:

- (1) Doctor's certificate of all children to be fed.
- (2) Careful attendance records.
- (3) Regular, perpetual inventories of goods delivered by the Quakers to each city including statements of food consumption which must be kept within certain limits and definite ratios for different foodstuffs.
- (4) Summarized weekly reports of operation in each city.

This local committee under the direction of its paid secretary had to provide places for the cooking of the food, arrange for its transportation to the various feeding centers, usually in the public school buildings, and secure the coöperation of the teachers or other volunteer workers in serving the food to the children. The number of volunteers who assisted in this work has been variously estimated at from thirty to forty thousand at the peak of the feeding. As the personnel changed from time to time it is probable that 100,000 different Germans helped with the child-feeding.

WHAT AND HOW THE CHILDREN WERE FED

The food was prepared in central kitchens in huge boilers, some of which held enough for a thousand children. From these kitchens it was taken in big double-walled containers to the feeding centers. Food in these containers would keep hot for five or six hours. One can scarcely over-praise the 25,000 under-nourished teachers who day after day served this steaming meal to the long line of children each armed with his own cup and spoon. But more severe than hunger pangs was the heartache experienced by the teachers when they had to take hungry stunted children out of the lines because their need was relatively less than others.

An average meal for the school children consisted of 180 grams of food and contained about 670 calories. Nursing mothers were given 750 calories, and children two to six years of age about 400 calories. The 180 gram meal would be proportioned as follows: lard six

per cent, cocoa two and one-half per cent, sugar seven and one-half per cent, condensed milk ten and one-half per cent, evaporated milk ten and one-half per cent, rice nine per cent, peas and beans fifteen per cent, and flour thirty-nine per cent. During the summer months the menu was changed somewhat. The peas and beans, against which there was much complaint in some quarters, were omitted and rice was substituted. It should be understood that these meals were never intended to be balanced rations. They were supplementary feedings intended to supply the elements lacking in their food at home.

EXTENT AND DURATION OF THE FEEDING

The Friends served the first meal to the German children in Berlin on February 26, 1920. The number fed was gradually extended until they were feeding 632,000 children and mothers by the first of July in 88 cities through 3,392 feeding centers. During the summer of 1920, due to the ability of the people to secure fresh vegetables and fruits, the number fed was reduced to 150,000.

During the latter half of 1920 the work was extended to include not only the occupied areas of West Hanover and East Prussia, but also the Free State of Danzig. Throughout all this region, they opened feeding stations in most of the cities of 10,000 population or over, as well as in a larger number of the landkreise than before. This was a decided change of policy due to the conviction that in many small industrial cities

the need was proportionately as great or greater than in the larger cities.¹⁴ During the third week in June, 1921, the feeding reached the high peak of 1,010,658 persons in 1,640 communities receiving a supplementary meal each day from 8,364 feeding centers supplied by 2,271 kitchens.¹⁵

The Quakers had now been engaged in this relief work for a whole year beyond the time Mr. Hoover had agreed to help them through the European Children's Fund, but the need was still almost as great as when they had begun. The funds of the Quakers, however, were insufficient to continue the feeding unless additional contributions were forthcoming from the American people. When the situation became known, the Americans of German descent organized a Three Million Dollar Campaign Committee, which provided the Friends with sufficient funds to carry on the feeding of an average of 500,000 children a day for a period of ten months. This money together with cash on hand and funds turned over to the Friends from the European Children's Fund enabled them to continue the work until July 31, 1922, when the work was officially turned over to the Deutscher Zentral Ausschuss, an organization composed of representatives of all the national charitable societies in Germany.

¹⁴ Report of American Friends' Service Committee's German Feeding Mission, Dec. 31, 1920.

¹⁵ Ibid., June 30, 1921.

CHAPTER VII

WAR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN GERMANY— SECOND PERIOD

When the Quakers turned over the child-feeding work in Germany to the German Central Committee on July 31, 1922, they never dreamed that in less than a year and a half they would be called upon to undertake child-feeding on an even broader scale. Yet such was the case. Following the French occupation of the Ruhr in January, 1923, the German mark dropped to a new level of insignificance, being quoted at 4.2 trillion to the dollar. At this point the German ambassador to the United States asked the American Friends' Service Committee to come back. Ferdinand Thun of Reading, Pennsylvania, came to the Service Committee and pleaded with them to return to the task.

The Quakers who were still closely in touch with German affairs, foreseeing the impending crash, had sent Dr. Haven Emerson to Germany in December to investigate the physical condition of the children. Let us look at conditions through his eyes.¹

"My Commission," he says, "was to get beneath the surface—to make a swift diagnosis of communities. I sought

¹ A summary of Dr. Emerson's findings are given in the *Survey*, Feb. 1, 1924, pp. 433-36 and 489-90.

signs of health or lack of it in individuals and in groups, through the records of birth and death, the incidence of disease, the condition of the school children, the housing, clothing, feeding, work and well-being of families as revealed to the physician, the visiting nurse, the relief worker; and by the picture of sickness in hospitals, dispensaries and private offices; the character of care in shelters, day nurseries, orphanages, and lodging houses; the rations at soup kitchens; the amount of milk consumed per capita each day throughout the city; the amount of unemployment and its duration; the balance between income and necessities in the family budget. I began work in Berlin on December 24, and on January 3, I finished a series of home visits with nurses in Coblenz, having in the meantime gathered facts in person and from original sources, in no way connected with propaganda for relief or foreign sympathy, in Breslau, Dresden, Munich, Frankfurt-on-Main, Cologne, and Opladen."

The following striking facts from Dr. Emerson's report are typical of conditions throughout the country in 1923:

"Among the school children of Germany an increase of sixteen *per cent* in open pulmonary tuberculosis in 1923 as compared with 1922.

"Increase of twenty-nine *per cent* during 1923 in applications for diagnosis and care of open tuberculosis at the clinics of Germany. . . .

"Forty-four *per cent* of 1,300 children in Breslau between two and six years gave a positive reaction to the von Pirquet test, or in plain language were already at this age infected with tuberculosis even though not in the active stage of the disease. . . .

"In general in children's hospitals in Berlin where formerly between five and ten *per cent* of the patients were suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis, now twenty-five *per cent* of them are admitted for this disease."

Dr. Emerson found that "five of the municipal *pre-ventoria* with four hundred beds for pre-tuberculous or suspect children from tuberculosis families have been closed within the year for lack of funds. Several thousand beds in public and private institutions for the treatment of favorable and advanced pulmonary tuberculosis have been closed, because neither the patients nor the community could pay for the food, warmth, and service required."

The milk supply, because of its value for children and especially for combating tuberculosis, was especially investigated. He found that "the people of Berlin have about .06 of a pint apiece (daily), in Breslau the share is .14 of a pint, in Dresden it is 0.8 of a pint, in Munich .04 of a pint, in Frankfort .04 of a pint and in Cologne .1 of a pint. What this has meant practically is that only expectant mothers, in the last two months of pregnancy, nursing mothers, infants under two years, and invalids have been allowed to have milk. . . .

"In two cities the military occupation has had a definite effect in reducing the milk available for the child population. In the case of Frankfort the 'milk shed,' or area of supply, has been restricted because of embargo placed upon transportation of milk out of the

Palatinate and Hesse into unoccupied Germany. In the case of Coblenz the city authorities could obtain milk for mothers, infants, and invalids each day only after as much as was desired had been taken for the use of the occupying troops and their resident families."

Emerson's report emphasized especially the ravages of tuberculosis due to years of undernourishment and the unavoidable crowding into dark unheated living rooms of little children under the care of tubercular persons while all the able-bodied sought work. Other reports were more specific as to the extent of undernourishment except in so far as the increase in tuberculosis was an evidence of lack of proper food.

Early in February the American Friends' Service Committee received the following cable from Henry T. Brown in reply to a cable from them inquiring as to conditions. "Cable 59. Saturday just returned from visit to cities in South Germany. Answering your 117. (1) Deaths actual starvation Russian sense occur only sporadically but alarming increase in diseases caused by great undernourishment such as Tuberculosis, Rickets, Scurvy undermining national child health. (2) Three-million school children and one and one-half million under six seriously undernourished. (3) Professor Ranke well-known authority on Tuberculosis reports that in the new cases attending his clinic in Munich the increase in open Tuberculosis in 1923 over 1922 was over 24 per cent. Dr. Emerson reports an increase among German children of 16 per cent in open tuberculosis in 1923 compared with 1922. See

Article in Survey February 1. (4) Report today from Food Ministry states supply bread grains sufficient meet needs end of June. Certain invisible supplies yet in hands of farmers hard to determine. New crop seldom available until last of September. Visible supply lard, bacon, frozen meat, corned beef, exceptionally small hardly covering need for three weeks. Fresh milk now offered for sale in Germany perhaps one-third pre-war but even this small supply not being absorbed by population because of greatly reduced purchasing power. In fact this reduced purchasing power one of most serious factors in food situation. (5) No exact statistics available but believe German Government and people carry two-thirds of total cost of all child feeding and fifty times as much general relief as comes from abroad. (6) Best information indicates that only about 50 per cent of mothers can nurse their infants.”²

Mr. Brown’s estimate of the milk supply is probably correct for Germany as a whole, but Dr. Emerson’s statistics show that the average milk supply for the six cities mentioned above was less than one-seventh of the amount used in 1913.

In regard to the unemployment situation, Dr. Emerson found that fourteen and one-half *per cent* of the entire population of Germany (62,500,000) was supported at government expense by the unemployment dole of approximately \$2.50 a week for a family (man, wife and two children under fourteen years of age). The rapidity with which the employment situation

² Files of American Friends Service Committee.

changed is shown by Dr. Emerson's statement that "In Dresden during the past four months five thousand people of the middle class have appealed to the public office for the weekly dole, often persuaded to take this step by the visiting nurse, whose call to help in sickness revealed the actual want in homes of apparent comfort where self-respect still held the family back from joining the army of public dependents. . . . There are now in that city 3,085 men and 1,237 women for each hundred opportunities for even part-time work offered through the public employment and relief agencies." ³

A writer in the *Nation* commenting on the German situation called attention to the fact that in Munich twelve *per cent* of the babies born in 1922 died, but that forty *per cent* of them had died in 1923. In regard to physical development this writer found that the boys are retarded, on an average, at least two years, and the girls one and one-half years. In Magdeburg twenty *per cent* of all children do not receive a single warm meal a day. "Black corn coffee, dry bread, cold potatoes with herring brine, in rare cases even herring itself are usual food among the working classes." ⁴

The conditions existing in Germany prior to the Allen Campaign are here emphasized because there was considerable opposition in the United States to the raising of any more funds for German relief.

Reports were constantly reaching this country of the

³ Emerson, Haven, "Hungry and Sick," *Survey*, February 1, 1923.

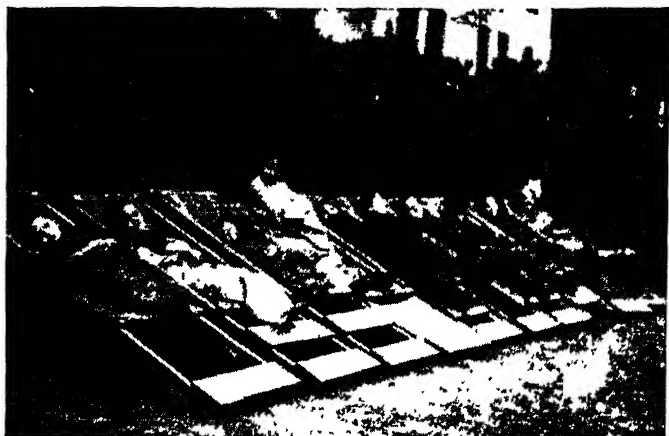
⁴ Van Hook, Edith, "Starving the New Generation," *Nation*, 118, pp. 393-4.

extravagant living of some of the Germans. Mr. Hoover made this reply to those who objected to the inclusion of Germany in the European Relief Campaign and his words seem to the writer to be just as pertinent to the situation at the time of the Allen Campaign: "The German situation, as I see it, is simply that in Germany the old guard and newly added profiteers are as heartless as it is possible for a human group to be. There can be no question as to the actual starvation of the children of the German poor, particularly in the industrial districts of Germany. I do not believe we are justified in refusing to include them in a general appeal for children because of the rottenness of these classes."

In the midst of the campaign for funds occurred an incident which threatened the plan with failure. The German ambassador at Washington, acting, as he thought, upon orders from his government, failed to honor the memory of ex-President Wilson by displaying the embassy's flag at half-mast. So seriously did this instance of "German official stupidity" as it was called quite generally by the press of the United States affect the contribution to the American Campaign for the Relief of German Children that "General Allen felt obliged, even in Mrs. Wilson's great trial, to lay the facts before her. Said the widow of our late ex-president in reply:

"The information contained in your letter . . . causes me genuine distress.

"As a private citizen I will not venture to comment



Photographed by Wm. Eves 3rd, Chief of the German Child-Feeding Mission

Above Sunbath cure in woods near Eisenach, 1920

Below Forest school near Erfurt, 1920 Germany abounded in places to care for her children but lacked foodstuffs

on the official aspect of the recent flag episode; but I am so convinced the feeling of my husband on the phase of the matter presented by you would entirely accord with my own that I do not hesitate to express the hope that your fund in aid of helpless German children may continue to find generous support.

“ ‘I am sure Mr. Wilson would not have the devotion and loyalty of the American people, whom he so loved, take on the guise of resentment which might cause suffering if not death among innocent children.’ ” ⁵

A third factor which made the work of the Allen Campaign doubly hard was the reports from visitors to Germany. Many of these feasted on “Schleich handel” in the best hotels, saw the throngs of people spending what money they had before its purchasing power should further decline, visited the resorts and places of interest, and, not finding people dying on the streets, returned to the United States skeptical as to any real need for relief in Germany. But men like William Eves, 3rd, who had been there in 1920-21, and again from December, 1923, to July, 1924, in connection with the Quaker child-feeding, assured the writer that conditions in the latter period were worse than in 1920. Even honest and well-intentioned persons, perhaps prejudiced in advance by the opposition of such papers as the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune*, were hard to convince that relief was badly needed. One well-known business man and philanthropist who had given generously to the Allen Campaign Fund

⁵ *Literary Digest*, Feb. 23, 1924, p. 15.

came to see Mr. Eves in May, 1924, protesting that he could duplicate in New York anything he had seen in Berlin in the way of poverty or the ravages of disease. Mr. Eves, of course, explained that it was not famine conditions such as Russia experienced that they were combating but slow starvation—a less spectacular but in the long run fully as menacing a situation.⁶ To have understood conditions as they were, our philanthropist would have needed the ability to visualize his exceptional case in New York multiplied again and again until from twenty-five *per cent* to forty *per cent* of all the children in the city were infected with tuberculosis, and so on through the long list of abnormal conditions. Lacking this ability, he went away unconvinced.

Notwithstanding these difficulties and the fact that the United States was tired of drives, a strong committee called the American Committee for Relief of German Children, and headed by Major-General Henry T. Allen was formed. General Allen had been in command of the American Army of Occupation and was convinced of the need from his own experience. On this Committee were such people as Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, Bernard M. Baruch, Paul D. Cravath, and Charles W. Eliot. "The idea of the Allen Committee," says Dr. Rau, "was to begin a campaign under national leadership, and which could not be called a pro-German Movement. They hoped not only for good financial results, but also for a chance to establish better understanding of Germany and her need. . . . As campaign

⁶ Interview with William Eves, 3rd.

leaders in the different states and cities they selected mainly Americans, not of German descent.”⁷ Further on in this report, speaking of the Friends’ connection with the expenditure of this fund, Dr. Rau says: “It was highly important that the Quakers took part in this work. Through their absolutely dependable and honest dealings, their splendid work and their fine spirit, they had won absolute confidence. Everybody knew that through them the money would be distributed in the best possible and fairest way. They accepted no payment for their services and took care of all overhead expenses. Special mention must be made of the untiring and effective help of the executive secretary, Dr. Thomas, one of the strongest personalities of the movement.”

At a meeting of the American Friends’ Service Committee on February 7, it was reported that General Allen’s Committee had raised to date \$1,700,000 in cash and pledges. Wilbur K. Thomas was then authorized to cable Henry T. Brown to begin feeding 1,000,000 children a day, beginning February 15.

The Allen Committee turned over to the American Friends’ Service Committee a total of \$3,048,827.04. This sum was entirely expended for food, and distribution was made through the Deutscher Zentral Ausschuss für die Auslandshilfe. Actual feeding with the new American food began in January, 1924, and the

⁷ Report of Dr. Herman Rau to the American Friends Service Committee on the Activities of the American Committee for Relief of German Children.

number of children receiving a supplementary meal a day was increased until they reached a maximum of 1,200,000 about June 1. In the Ruhr section Mr. Eves told the writer it was necessary for them to go into the small villages, but outside of the industrial section they did not go into villages of less than 2,000. "A balanced ration made up from flour, milk, sugar, rice, corn grits and cocoa was served at a total expense of sixty cents per child per month."⁸

In addition to the child-feeding work, considerable attention was given to an anti-tuberculosis campaign. "Six hundred barrels of cod-liver oil and 541 tons of cocoa were purchased, and distributed through different clinics for the children's homes to the little ones who had already developed or were threatened with tuberculosis."⁹

The American Friends' connection with German Child Feeding was officially severed on October 7, 1924. Robert Yarnall in closing the work issued an open letter:

"To Whom It May Concern:

"Friends Child Feeding closed October 7, 1924, but from funds and foodstuffs left over from the present program, from reserves of the Deutscher Zentral Ausschuss, and from funds contributed by the cities and states, the child feeding will continue during the winter of 1924-25, October to April, on the average of 500,000 for each day."

⁸ Bulletin of American Friends Service Committee, May 31, 1924.

⁹ Ibid, May 31, 1925.

This letter closed with the following paragraphs:

"Please be assured that your very manifestations of appreciation and thanks for our Auslandshilfe will be transmitted to our friends across the seas with the hope that, as a result of four years working together, it may have been established in the minds of many that the way of love is after all the best means of insuring mutual confidence and good-will and hope.

"We also hope that, after all the material relief has passed, through the many many contacts that have been made there may always be maintained the bridge of mutual understanding across which we can freely interchange ideas upon our common problems and ambitions." ¹⁰

Two memorial funds were established in Germany at the close of the relief work in 1924. The Allen Committee which had provided the Quakers with funds set aside the sum of \$50,000 to be known as "The General Henry T. Allen Child Welfare Fund." Interest on this money is being used for child welfare work in the area of Germany formerly occupied by American troops. This fund is distributed under the direction of five mayors representing the five largest cities in the American occupied area. The Quakers have no control over or connection with this fund.¹¹

The American Friends' Service Committee then appropriated \$50,000 from funds entirely separate from the Allen Committee fund for the purpose of thor-

¹⁰ Files of American Friends Service Committee.

¹¹ Minutes of American Friends Service Committee, Nov. 6, 1924.

oughly equipping three anti-tuberculosis clinics in connection with German universities. In this way the Quakers are still helping Germany recover from war's desolation.

CHAPTER VIII

EFFECTS OF THE QUAKER FEEDING AND MESSAGE ON THE GERMAN PEOPLE

The Quaker feeding and the Quaker message in Germany were inextricably intertwined. They accepted the task of feeding the German children with the definite understanding that they were to be free to spread their Gospel of Peace and Good-will. Let it be clearly understood that no sectarian propaganda was ever intended or used, but the broad principles of a Gospel of Love were driven home in season and out of season both by word and deed.

The social psychologist has not yet invented any device for measuring the effect of reiteration upon the mind, but no one knows better than he that the impact of an idea frequently presented to consciousness is tremendous. The message on the back of the food card did that very thing:

“To the Children of Germany:

“A greeting of Friendship from America, distributed by the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), who have, for 250 years, and during the several years of war just ended, maintained that only service and love, and not war and hatred, can bring peace and happiness to mankind.”

Of course the smaller children sometimes got a rather jumbled conception, as an extract from a school essay shows:

"They (the Quakers) have great brotherly love, and are enemies. . . . Every morning the children are consumed (verspeist instead of gespeist.)" ¹

But on the whole, the children understood and were profuse in their thanks. Literally hundreds of thousands of letters of thanks were written as a part of their school work.

EXPRESSIONS OF APPRECIATION AND GOOD-WILL

A few examples from representatives of different groups are sufficient to convince one of the fulness of their appreciation. The following letter from a German school child gives an idea of the feeling as well as undoubtedly genuine expression of her own feelings:

You dear People in America—

Today is the 19th of September

I am writing for the first time a letter which our teacher told us shall travel across the ocean. I wanted to tell you about the food too. Somebody knocked and then there came a sack of rolls. Then somebody went with a wagon to the parish house and brought back the soup kettle. That was a funny kettle and it was used by the soldiers in the war. Then we held out our cups and each one got a half liter [of soup]. That was [so] good, that they all wanted some, even my friend Hedwig and her father has a bakery! And the teachers didn't get any and some of them are thin too.

¹ Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

Our teacher told us: you mustn't be rough during the feeding. That is something holy, that you love us, even though you don't know us. I am seven years old and was born the fifth of August. We thank you too from our hearts. The city people have learned from you now. The city will feed some of its own children this year.

With greetings from
JULIA STUKE
School 6 in Velbert

The teachers who came into very intimate contact with the Quaker work were among the most appreciative. A teacher in Velbert, Rhineland, closed her letter with this wish: "May your most beautiful reward be that the seed of your love bear rich fruit and that many of the little ones you have cared for, following your example, work out their Christianity in practical life."²

Another teacher wrote:

"It will not be easy for you to realize what all this means to us. For years we were cut off from everything; for years we heard nothing but strife and hatred. Now suddenly, you come to us and show us that behind the world of political strife, the real world still exists, the world of brotherhood and love."³

University students more frequently expressed their appreciation of good-will engendered by the Quakers. One of them wrote from Januckendorf under date of December 20, 1923, as follows:

² Files, American Friends' Service Committee.

³ Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

"After the many disappointments which we Germans have experienced during the last world political storm, you have become for so many of us the only beam of hope that allows us to look forward to a reconciliation of the people. We have found that Quakerism with its richly helping action and noble disposition has done more for world's peace, than millions of organized pacifists. We have found that only a small amount of action, idealism and firm religious conviction can be a world of strength, which in silent work and with purest willingness lifts the hearts of mankind in a storm.

"Before the war, in the greater part of Germany the Quakers were very little known, today, as I know from experience, one hears them spoken of, in the widest circles, with wonder and thankfulness." ⁴

A German Professor in hard financial straits expressed appreciation for both the material and the spiritual help:

"It is not simply the individual welcome gifts and assistance, but the very fact that in the midst of the confusion of our times, in the midst of the mistrust with which individuals and nations look across at one another, such a warm stream of love, born of the Spirit of Christ, breaks through all barriers. Never has it been more apparent than in the present work of the Friends from England and America." ⁵

There were also many official expressions of thanks to the Quakers from authorities high and low, but, perhaps, the outstanding expression of appreciation was a tea given by President Ebert in the gardens back of his palace. The English and American Quakers in

⁴ German Files, American Friends Service Committee.

⁵ Ibid.

Berlin were the guests of honor. The Cabinet was represented by Stresemann, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and by Konitz, Minister of Agriculture. Various representatives of the Reich and of the Welfare Organizations were also present. President Ebert's address on this occasion summarized the whole period of Quaker work.

"Ladies and Gentlemen of the Society of Quakers and of the American Press:

"It is a very great pleasure to me to be able to greet you here. May I ask you to act as the recipients of the thanks of those who themselves are not able to give expression of it today but who in the near future will render it not in words but in their intentions and deeds—the thanks of the German children.

"We look back today upon a period of four and one-half years of American German child feeding and this labor of love is still being carried on. During this time 58,300 tons of foodstuffs with a value of \$12,500,000 have been sent over from America. As its share, the German Government has furnished 39,000 tons with a value of \$5,100,000. States and cities have taken over the feeding on one or more days of the week in spite of desperate financial conditions. Now the news has come that the number of meals given daily has passed 1,100,000. The child feeding has reached a height never before attained. It has been an essential part of our entire welfare work.

"In the autumn of 1923 when the breakdown of our currency led us to the very brink of dissolution, the news came that a large committee was being built up in America in order to make possible a continuation of the child feeding, which otherwise would have been laid down. At the head of the work was placed General Henry T. Allen, himself a

full-blooded American and as former commander of the American troops of occupation in Coblenz a man who had full knowledge of general conditions. He was furthermore a person who, as scarcely another could, offered those who were not friendly to Germany, assurance that this relief work did not owe its origin to sentimentality fed by over-exaggerated reports of distress. The thought which lies back of the relief work is humanitarian and Christian—namely, that the torn bonds of the peoples should again be tied together by means of this work of human love and that the readiness for understanding peace and friendship in the world should be strengthened.

“In spite of many bitter attacks even among near acquaintances General Allen’s conscience and that of his co-workers did not allow millions of innocent, hungry children and mothers to fall to the ground. Through his exertions there was obtained the co-operation of public officials and business men such as Charles G. Dawes, Chairman of the Export Committee, Irving T. Bush, President of the New York Chamber of Commerce, and other leading Americans. The churches, the mayors of cities and governors of states have undertaken to set old misunderstandings aside. So the organization has been created out of nothing almost over the entire country.

“But thanks are due especially to the representatives of the Allen Committee in Germany, the American Quakers. They took over the task, in co-operation with the German Central Committee for Foreign Relief of converting the collected funds into foodstuffs and distributing those in Germany. They furnished surety as trustees of the American public that each dollar collected would come to the help of the German children, in one hundred *per cent* measure.

“I am convinced that the pains taken by the Allen Committee will bear fruit. Not only have many, many German children been saved hunger and long illness through its ma-

terial aid, but still greater than this is the moral value of the work. In your country large circles of the American people have been reached and knowledge and understanding of the conditions in Germany have been promoted. We will never forget that America, contrary to all opposition, reached out to our children the hand of friendliness in the time of greatest need.”⁶

William Eves, as chief of the Quaker Relief Mission, replied:

“Reichspraesident, Ladies and Gentlemen:

“We are very grateful for the kind words of President Ebert and Geheimrat Seeberg.

“It will be a great pleasure for those of us here today who are Americans to transmit these thanks to the American people. It is interesting how many Americans ask the question as to whether the child feeding is really appreciated by the German people. This occasion gives us the opportunity to assure all Americans of the deep heartfelt gratitude which Germany feels for the aid that has come to her. In fact we have never been doubtful of this gratitude. From the beginning the Reichspraesident and the Reichsregierung have at all times shown their great interest and have appropriated large sums of money for the purchase of foodstuffs and for the payment of the expenses connected with the feeding after the arrival of the food in Hamburg.

“As we, who are members of the Child Feeding Mission travel about in the country, we are continually impressed with this keen sense of thankfulness that comes from people in every walk of life, and in all parts of the country. We visit small towns and large cities, villages back in the mountains, and institutions of all kinds. We meet with mayors, city physicians, directors of schools and institutions, officials and

⁶ German Files, American Friends' Service Committee.

teachers, parents and children. Everywhere is the same story: 'Please thank our kind friends for the help they sent us.'

"But what is even more impressive than the feeling of thankfulness is the deep understanding of the spirit in which the gifts have been offered. We Quakers dared to ask Americans to help Germany in her time of need. We Quakers dared to ask Germany to accept this help. We hoped that our work of extending aid to those in need might result in breaking down to some extent the feeling of hatred which had been engendered by the war. We find everywhere in Germany an appreciation of the message of good-will and kindness that the child feeding symbolizes. We hear from America that the funds have been raised as a Christian duty toward those who are suffering. A bridge of friendship is being built which will span difficulties. Our work is no longer an experiment. It is proving its success and is producing results.

"This is not the philosophy of life to which we became accustomed during the last ten years, but it is not a new philosophy. It has been taught for nineteen hundred years, and here is one of the examples where it has been successful." ⁷

Final official thanks of the German government were expressed by the Chancellor, Dr. Luther, on June 5, 1925, in a letter to the Kinderhilfs-mission der Friends Aus America:

"The close of the German American child feeding after its more than five years of continuance, gives me occasion, in the name of the German government to again express the gratitude of the German people to those in America who have made this work possible.

"I beg you as the trustee of the child feeding work, to

⁷ German Files, American Friends' Service Committee.

convey my thanks to those churches, societies, trade and professional associations, and other groups of people from all parts of America who contributed to this work. At the same time I ask you to convey my thanks to the Child Feeding Committee of the Society of Friends for the work which they have carried on with such untiring energy and delicate understanding. I can state with satisfaction that the assistance, coming as it did, at the time of Germany's greatest need—immediately after the close of the war, and during the inflation period then beginning—meant for a great number of German children salvation from hunger and lingering sickness, and that it essentially contributed to the gradual rebuilding of the health of the German people as a whole.”⁸

ORGANIZATIONS OF FRIENDS IN GERMANY

It is not at all surprising that Quakerism should have found some organized expression in Germany following the Quaker Child-Feeding Mission, first because of an extensive revolt against the ecclesiasticism and dogmatism of the Lutheran Church; and second, because of the close relation between German mysticism and the teachings of George Fox. The influence of Jacob Boehme, whose writings first appeared in England in 1645, is recognized by both England and American Quakers. There are many parallels between Boehme's writings and those of Fox.⁹ Consequently the essence of Quakerism strikes a responsive chord in breasts of Germans of a certain temperament. Alfons Paquet at the annual conference of the Friends of the Friends

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ For discussion see Jones, R. M., *Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, New York, 1914.

(Quakers) stressed the idea that the original English Quakerism had its roots in German developments and has only developed in the English stem as the original roots still lie dormant in the German nature today.¹⁰

German Quakerism as a separate organized entity came into existence on July 23, 1925, at Eisenach with the organization of a German Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. Heinrich Becker is the first clerk of this small but zealous group of Quakers. The Society is now but a tiny spark, but that spark is smoldering in an environment where men are searching for a more vital religious life. The outcome of the movement is unpredictable. It may pass away with the generation that set it in motion or it may become a great conflagration like the Wesleyan movement in England.

The organization is not controlled by either the English or American Society of Friends, and has, from the beginning, been quite different. For example, the Germans do not look upon the Society of Friends as a church; consequently one need not give up his ecclesiastical connections in order to join the German Society of Friends. Dr. Kelly tells of going to Buckberg to address an anti-alcohol conference. The president of the organization was the local minister or pastor. At the close of the meeting this Lutheran pastor spoke earnestly for five minutes on the spirit the Quakers had had in their work in Germany. Professor Kelly found a

¹⁰ Files of American Friends Service Committee. Reports of Thomas Kelly, Representative of the American Friends Service Committee on the International Committee.

group of from twelve to twenty people in and near this town who had been meeting occasionally, really seeking for a deeper way of spiritual life, and a more vital way of expressing it in the world. He stayed over a couple of days explaining to "a group of twenty or thirty peasants the spirit in which the Friends had been led to help the needy in Germany, and then of the way of life which lives in love, so that war and hatred is done away with, and the spirit of brotherhood and peace comes in its place." ¹¹

A much larger and more loosely organized group is called "The Friends of the Friends." They are the German friends of Quakerism. The group contains Protestants, Jews, and Catholics who wish to conserve the spirit of internationalism that was fostered by the Friends' relief activities in Germany. Heinrich Becker described the group in this way: "There have gathered around the Quakers in Germany little circles in which there are now about one thousand persons. These circles have joined in an annual conference and in groups (about twenty) that meet more or less regularly for devotional exercises and for discussions." ¹²

Many of this group will probably eventually join the Society of Friends, but much more important than that from the Quaker point of view is that these twenty circles in various parts of Germany are foci for the spread of international good-will.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Translated from a letter from Heinrich Becker, Clerk of the German Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends to the writer, Jan. 1, 1927.

INFLUENCE ON THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Any movement of youth is of necessity an uncertain movement. Its rapidly changing personnel, their lack of experience and of traditions which inhibit impulsive action subject the movement to the danger of extreme radicalism in whatever the youth may be interested. On the other hand, the very freedom from inhibiting traditions may enable them to see the folly of the past and the ideal for the future more clearly than the older generation. However that may be and whether the Youth Movement in Germany proves to be ephemeral or lasting the fact remains that Quakerism has made a strong appeal to the group.

The movement started in Germany about twenty-five years ago when groups of boys, often Sunday School classes, would take Sunday afternoon hikes into the country to get away from the commercialized and often contaminating amusements of the city. The very first group was made up of Berlin school boys. "This group," says Anna L. Curtis, "suddenly found itself enjoying a fellowship and a sense of common life such as its members had never experienced. Other groups all over Germany sought the new comradeship. Calling themselves Wandervogel or Wandering Birds they sought wherever possible the free life of the wood and mountain, revived the old German folk songs and dances, and broke away from the artificial culture of the town. An emphasis on individualism was developed,

and a new determination to search for truth and freedom." ¹³

Before the war the Youth Movement was quite out of touch with the problems of the day. Since the war, the breakdown of the entire social order has caused them to grapple seriously with present-day problems. Professor Jesse H. Holmes, a Quaker leader, studied the movement while in Germany. One University Professor said to him: "The Youth Movement represents the best and truest things in Germany to-day. I feel that I must speak of it with greatest reverence." Another said to him: "The spirit of it is primarily religious. It is unconventional and tends to resent control by the older generation; but that is because it does not trust the older generation, and why should it? Professor Holmes sums up his impressions thus: "The German Youths' Movement is a kind of spontaneous revolt from the civilization which has thrust them into this present misery. The more serious and sincere of the young people are inclined to question any and all of the institutions which the past has to offer them. They tend to withdraw from the older people and to get together to talk about the situation. They are often very immature and pathetically ignorant." ¹⁴

Miss Curtis found at the Hellerau Conference that

¹³ Report of Conference of Jugend Bewegung at Hellerau, July 31-Aug. 5, 1923, by Anna L. Curtis to the American Friends Service Committee.

¹⁴ Holmes, Jesse H., "The Youths' Movement in Germany," *Friends Intelligencer*, Oct. 31, 1925.

many of the leading members of the Jugend Bewegung belong to the German Friends of Quakerism. One of the young Germans told her that some had found a higher Christianity outside of the organized church; but that for others, their highest faith, as yet, was their faith in the Friends. A member of the American student delegation who had talked much with the young Germans said to Miss Curtis: "There is no religious organization except the Friends which can work with these young people." This may be an exaggeration, but it shows the high regard in which the Quakers are held by these youths. In so far as the Quakers do exercise a directing influence we can be sure that the movement is being sanely and safely directed.

INFLUENCE ON PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

In pre-war days the question of giving supplementary meals to undernourished children was much debated and only a few very progressive communities and private welfare organizations put their convictions into practice. To-day the necessity of such feeding is not only theoretically and generally recognized, but to institute such feedings is looked upon as an implicit duty of public welfare administration. So important is this obligation considered that wherever communities are financially unable to bear the cost, the state provides the necessary funds. In 1925 Greater Berlin placed 1,200,000 marks in its budget for child feeding, and five other large cities an average of 400,000 marks each. Moreover, the German states during the winter

of 1924-25 had funds in readiness to aid poorer communities in carrying on the work of child feeding. Prussia spent 3,000,000 marks, Saxony spent 400,000 marks, Thuringia spent 400,000 marks, Bavaria spent 250,000 marks, etc.

They are continuing the principle introduced by the Quakers of selection of participants in the feeding from the health point of view. The meals are also planned with due regard to the physiological condition of the children, stress being laid on the fact that the feeding is supplemental in order to secure additional nutrition for underfed children.

INFLUENCE ON PRIVATE WELFARE BODIES

Prior to the World War the great private charitable organizations conducted under religious auspices—Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant—each went its own way. In addition there was the German Red Cross, a rather exclusive and aristocratic organization, and various welfare organizations connected with political groups and with labor unions. Each of these had its own program independent of all the rest. When the Quakers took over the child-feeding work in Germany they refused to establish stations in any city or town until a local committee representative of all the religious, political, and labor groups engaged in philanthropy had been formed.

This was a radical and unprecedented demand, but the situation was serious and the organizations consented to work together in the D.Z.A. (the German

Central Committee in connection with Foreign Relief). This committee, and its district, and local subdivisions were fostered by the government to meet the emergency need. The government paid the overhead expenses and influenced the policy of the committee.

When foreign relief ceased, the government for budgetary reasons would not continue financial aid; besides the private welfare bodies desired to be free from governmental influence. Five years of coöperation with the Quakers, however, had taught them the value of coöperation with each other and with the government. So the government furthered "the plan of the leading private charity organizations to unite in a league independent of the government, yet coöperating with it. Thus the board of the League does not include the representatives of the government as voting members; they will, however, be invited to the meetings in order to give counsel, and to state the attitude of the government towards the subject under consideration. The overhead expenses of the League are paid from contributions of the incorporated organizations."¹⁵

This new organization is called the "Deutsche Liga der freien Wohlfahrtspflege." (German League of Free Welfare Organizations.) It is composed of six national organizations:

1. Innere Mission, the national welfare organization of the Protestant Church.

¹⁵ Letter of Hanns Gramm to the American Friends Service Committee, April 27, 1926.



Photographed by Wm. Eves 3rd, Chief of the German Child-Feeding Mission.

Above Child under two years of age in Krippe being fed chocolate soup, Leipzig, 1920.

Below Small children 2-6 years of age in the yard of a day kindergarten. Leipzig, 1920.

2. Charitas Verband, the national welfare organization of the Catholic Church.
3. Judische Wohlfahrtsflege, the national welfare organization of the Jews.
4. The welfare organization of the Christian Labor Union.
5. The national union of hospitals and similar institutions.
6. The German Red Cross.

The welfare organizations of the Social Democratic Labor Party did not join the League because their welfare work is a part of their political program. In practice, however, they coöperate with the League.

It is interesting to note that "most of the representatives on the board of directors are the same persons who represented the organizations on the board of the Deutsche Zentral Ausschus." It is to be hoped that this will mean the transfer to the new organization of the traditions created in coöperation with the Friends under the old German Central Committee. As urgency of relief needs has relaxed, some friction has developed and it remains to be seen whether political, religious, racial, and social differences can be subordinated to their primary functions of relief and prevention of human hunger and disease.

INFLUENCE ON PEACE MOVEMENTS AND IDEALS

Here again we are faced with the incommensurable. The potential influence is tremendous if even a minor-

ity of the German people who were fed by the Quakers wish to capitalize it. As a professor in the University of Frankfurt said to Caroline Norment, a Quaker worker, "It isn't yet clear what this work means. The time to evaluate it is twenty years from now. The real test is coming when children say, 'Who were those people who came and fed us and why did they do it?'"¹⁶ If they are answered truly in terms of the message on the food cards, the result should be the development of strong anti-war sentiments.

We do not, however, have to wait a quarter of a century to see the influence of the Quakers on the attitude of many Germans toward other nations or to see the beginnings of organizations to foster better international relations. The student group, with minds ungrooved and reaching out toward something better than the illusions of the old order, have expressed themselves very clearly. The following letter from a Berlin student is typical of the new viewpoint:

"It is a significant experience for me that Englishmen have helped me, since I had, during my imprisonment in Egypt many sad experiences as well as some friendly impressions. Be assured that your sacrificial, super-national work has made a great impression upon many Germans. In your practical Christianity you have shown us that the spirit of Christian love is stronger than the barriers which men have set up. You have given us an example of the way reconciliation between nations can be set in motion by active love for one's neighbor. Many a one has again learned the faith that the spirit of Christianity can be victorious in the modern

¹⁶ Personal interview with Caroline G. Norment.

state also, and that in this spirit the nations must reach out their hands to one another."¹⁷

A paragraph from a letter of a German editor states succinctly a viewpoint held by many thinking people:

"You must have noticed from the tone of my article that I am not only a sympathizer with, but an ardent admirer of Quakerism, because I am deeply convinced that it is a great moral force, which, if it could be installed into a larger portion of mankind, would make this world of ours, this world of wars, of hatred, of material destruction, a paradise of peace and contentment, as it was willed by the Creator."¹⁸

Alfred G. Scattergood, the first Chairman of the Quaker Relief Mission, expressed himself conservatively on this point to the Friends' Service Committee:

"How far our comparatively small operation has had its effect on international feelings and relations it is difficult to say. I believe, however, that the following extract from a private letter of an Englishman is a fair statement on this point:

"Two of the leading financiers and business men of Germany (one of them was financial adviser during the making of the treaty and both are public-spirited men) were talking to Maynard Keynes and they said that the Quakers had made the most immense difference to the possibilities of friendly relations in the future.'" ¹⁹

¹⁷ Extract from a letter received by the Student Committee in Berlin following the cessation of Student Feeding on Aug. 15, 1924.

¹⁸ American Friends Service Committee files. Letter of C. A. Bratter, Associate Editor, *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin), to Gilbert L. MacMaster.

¹⁹ Minutes of American Friends Service Committee, Sept. 22, 1921.

It should be noted that Mr. Scattergood expressed this opinion in 1921, long before the long-continued and cumulative effects of the Mission were reached. Many things were done later to strengthen the view which he expressed. For instance, when the Quakers went into the occupied portions of Germany with the child-feeding work, they also undertook to act as mediators between the various national groups. As the *New Republic* said: "Since the invasion of the Ruhr they have continued their work and have received excellent coöperation from French authorities. When they reported mismanagement of prisons, for example, 127 persons confined in one room without toilet facilities, General Degouette himself took their findings at face value, and sent orders to mitigate conditions.

"The Friends propose to work even through the medium of the Ruhr invasion to bring French and Germans together, to take the ground, even in that exacerbated situation, that political and social difference must not be allowed to develop an enmity which is fatal to the human race." ²⁰

The most tangible result of Quaker influence in bringing about better international relations has been the holding of two unofficial conferences of Germans and Poles to consider the question of Minorities. The Quakers see in this problem one of the sources of constant irritation.

The first of these conferences was held in Danzig

²⁰ *New Republic*, Nov. 28, 1923, pp. 10-12.

May 23-24, 1925, and was called the Danzig Conference. It was attended by seventeen persons: eight Germans from East Prussia and Berlin, five Poles, and four English and American Friends; namely, Wilmer J. Young, from Warsaw, Henry Harris, Anna L. Curtis, and Gilbert L. McMaster from Berlin. The significance of this conference was greater than its size would indicate, because each German and Polish delegate represented a society which is definitely working for peace and better understanding among nations.

"In spite of this fact," says Miss Curtis, a Quaker participant in the Conference, "one felt on Saturday afternoon the deep-seated resentment against each other which now separate two nations." The Agenda called for discussion of International Friendship, The Minorities, and what can we do in the future, but the subject of the Corridor, which it was hoped could be postponed to a later session, came up at the first meeting. One of the German delegates spoke of the fears of East Prussia cut off as she is from the mother country, and a Pole spoke of the corresponding tragedy of Poland. At this point Gilbert MacMaster spoke quietly, clearing the atmosphere somewhat, then adjournment for tea dissipated the remaining clouds.

Heinrich Becker, of the Berlin Friends, spoke at the next session on International Friendship. He believes that this superstructure can only be builded upon proper education. The keynote of his speech is in these sentences: "We must get away from the idea that all

other nations should be in our own image. Every people must recognize and be willing to recognize the needs of others."

Dr. Hans Simons, of Berlin, gave the first address on the minorities question. One of his notable statements was: "The rights of states are recognized in Europe, but not the rights of men. This is the reason why minorities suffer as they do." He spoke of fear as the great impediment to peace, and of the difficulty of applying individual understandings, and feelings of reconciliation among individuals to the present system of state government.

A very fine spirit of agreement on the subject of minorities developed. Only an honest difference of opinion as to the number of persons in each minority group stood in the way of complete harmony. For example, a Polish delegate estimated that there were 300,000 Poles in East Prussia, while a German from that area thought there were not more than 6,000 with probably 20,000 wandering workers. One of the Polish delegates said that three and eight-tenths *per cent* of the German population is Polish. She then told of hundreds of German taught schools of German children in Poland, of German public libraries, of twenty German daily papers and forty-one other periodicals, and ended by declaring that these minorities could be a link to bind the two nations together. This idea reached its climax in the closing session when Dr. Simons of Berlin emphasized the idea that "the wonderful task of the minorities is to help their people to work together."

The following suggestions of a Polish delegate as to future work was adopted by the conference:

1. That earnest efforts should be made by both groups to prevent the use of force by their respective governments.
2. That efforts should be made to hold in check all those forces and tendencies which would suppress or ill-treat minorities.
3. That efforts should be put forth for better understanding and support of the League of Nations.
4. That they should struggle against the inflaming propaganda of nationalistic papers.

The meeting closed with a brief speech by the chairman, Wilmer J. Young, who declared: "As Quakers working here in Europe, we have found friends everywhere, and they have often told us that "over there" across the borders are chauvinists. To-day we have found the heart of Poland and of Germany. Part of our work as Quakers is to help peoples to realize that there are lovers of peace in every land, who love, and live, and dare." ²¹

The second Polish-German Conference on the minorities question was held at Warsaw February 12-14, 1926. There were twenty-four delegates in all, nine of whom had been present at the Danzig Conference in Danzig. The Quakers were represented by Ladislas

²¹ From report of Anna L. Curtis to American Friends Service Committee.

Skoraczewski, Jane S. Pontefract, and Henry Harris, Gilbert L. MacMaster being present unofficially.

This conference under the chairmanship of Dr. Polack, President of the Society of the Friends of Peace, made some practical suggestions which, if carried out, will make for better international relations:

1. That the German statistics on minorities be collected and coördinated with the Polish statistics on the basis of an exact and definite meaning of the terms used.

This suggestion was made as a result of a statement from Dr. Lypacewicz of Poland, who said that they had compiled figures in January, 1926, showing that there were 1,032,000 Germans in Poland. He suggested that Germany should take statistics which would be comparable with the Polish.

2. That cultural relations should be further developed through the study of each other's literature and other subjects and through the visits of groups of young people.
3. That arrangements should be made for the exchange and translation of books in the German-Polish languages, and the setting up of Polish-German libraries.

Perhaps the outstanding address of the conference was the speech by Dr. Hans Simons on "The Significance of the Locarno Treaty for German-Polish Rela-

tions." His point of view may be gathered from the following extracts:

"Theoretically the arrangement is almost perfect; if it were carried out, it would make it quite impossible for any dispute to lead to a military conflict without the most far-reaching attempts at peace beforehand. . . . But these safeguards are insufficient in the face of a nationalism which is being continually rekindled. This nationalism is a perfectly legitimate child of our age: for it is only an expression of that self-seeking which is widely recognized and used as a right principle of the organization of society. From this there grows an exaggerated self-consciousness which dullens a bad conscience, and which makes individuals as well as nations intolerable and unbearable . . . the slightest wounding of this self-consciousness can lead immediately to the danger of catastrophe. . . . In such a situation the diplomats trained on the basis of the state are as helpless as is the unformed will of peoples, but the creative will of individual groups must be at work to make the reality fit the form.

"The Preamble to the treaties of Locarno has realized that, for it demands that the moral tension should be lightened. The makers of the treaty themselves appeal to the moral, (and) the spiritual power without which their work would remain fruitless." ²²

That leading German statesmen are accepting the point stressed in these two conferences is evidenced by the following statement from Herr Stresemann, Minister of Foreign Affairs: "We want to make good citizens

²² From report of Gilbert L. MacMaster to American Friends Service Committee.

out of our minorities, and in order to do this, we must respect their cultural traditions and peculiarities. We must give them the benefits that we ask for our German minorities in other countries.”²³

The outcome of these conferences is well summarized in the 1926 report of the American Friends' Service Committee: “As a result (of these conferences) there are to-day in both Germany and Poland groups with the purpose of getting better acquainted with each other. They are endeavoring to gain such a knowledge of the life and thought of the other people that they may be in a position to offer some solution to the vexing problems that arise on account of differences in language, literature, government, and trade. Other conferences are planned between French and Germans living near the Rhine, Austrians and Italians, and some of the countries in the Balkans.”²⁴

Gilbert L. MacMaster, representing the American Friends' Service Committee in Germany, writes me that a third conference between the Germans and the Poles is to be held in Berlin from the 22nd to the 24th of April, 1927. He further writes that “a very important result of our previous conference was a meeting of some twenty German, chiefly University youths, with a large number of Polish youths, also largely University students in Warsaw in October of this year. I think that this second development may prove to be

²³ Report of American Friends Service Committee, May 31, 1926, p. 4.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

the most important development arising out of our conferences, and as one of the further developments of this we look forward to a Polish-German summer school as a definite institution. This coming summer it is hoped that a larger number—50 to 100—Polish and German youths may meet on the shores of the Baltic for a vacation camp, and during this time we hope to lay the foundation for further meetings, as I said, in the form of a summer school. There will also be a meeting of Polish youths with German youths in Berlin some time this spring. This meeting arose out of the meeting in Warsaw, too.”²⁵

²⁵ Letter from Gilbert L. MacMaster to the writer, Dec. 28, 1926.

CHAPTER IX

WAR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN AUSTRIA

To describe the undernourishment and slow starvation, the sickness and disease, the misery and heart-break prevailing in Austria, and especially in Vienna, in 1919, would be to re-write the opening paragraphs of Chapter VI dealing with conditions in Germany. Perhaps this statement is not quite accurate, because the story would be different in one respect at least; it would present a darker picture. Without going into the matter extensively let us record a few facts to explain the necessity for extensive relief.

Sixty *per cent* of the children in Vienna had severe rickets and nearly every child was afflicted in some degree. Another estimate stated that 90% had rickets. Fifty *per cent* of the children between 6 and 12 years of age had tuberculosis. A medical examination of nearly 207,000 Viennese children under 6 years of age showed that 46.7% were extremely undernourished, 30% were undernourished, and only 3.3% were free from undernourishment. The pre-war milk supply of 900,000 liters flowing like a gigantic stream into Vienna each day had become a tiny rivulet of 50,000 liters. The cattle market, a vast structure of steel and con-

crete, which, before the war, was filled with the din of 70,000 clashing, bellowing cattle every week, now echoed dully to the tramp of 80 head—Vienna's weekly supply of fresh beef. The main part of the building had been turned into a garage and repair shop for the Friends' motor fleet of 50 cars brought over from service in France. The official ration of coal was 7 kilos per week (about one scuttleful), but even this was scarcely ever obtainable and the people walked miles from the end of the car lines to cut wood in the government forests, then staggered back again with a crushing load upon their backs. The cost of living had increased an average of 60 times, but wages had increased only 5 to 25 times for those who had employment and this divergence between income and cost of living grew steadily worse as the kronen depreciated in value and unemployment became the rule. Three hundred thousand adults were fed daily at communal kitchens.¹

The situation cannot be described in a few pages. Suffice it to say that a million people were dependent for the barest subsistence upon government rations and foreign relief agencies. Much of their life was taken up with waiting—just waiting. They spent half of their time waiting in long lines for food, fuel, or clothing, which much of the time they did not get, and they spent the other half waiting for death.

The following description is typical of what occurred frequently:

¹ See Reports of American Friends Service Committee, 1919, 1920.

"Tomorrow morning early, meat will arrive at the large market-place in Vienna. The women come wearily along, in rags and threadbare clothing—and wait. At midnight 10,000 are waiting. Thicker and thicker grows the crowd, the police are there to keep order in the darkness. At 4 a.m. some wagons draw up laden with American salted meat, but the distribution does not begin until 6 o'clock. Every woman has a card entitling her to 100 grammes of meat per person. At 8 o'clock 3,000 persons have received their portion. Then the market closes, and 7,000 women leave the place, many in tears; and as they go, they look around to see if they can buy a cabbage for that day."²

Such a situation could not but appeal to the Society of Friends, so in May, 1919, the English Friends sent Dr. Hilda Clark to investigate the rumors of bad conditions in Vienna that kept filtering through to the Friends. She found that the American Relief Administration was already feeding school children from six to fourteen years of age, but infants and children of pre-school age were perishing by the thousands for lack of milk, so the English Friends entered Austria in July, 1919, in an endeavor to meet that need. Once there, the work was extended, with the help of American Friends to include: (1) aid to professional and pensioned classes, (2) aid to agricultural settlers; and (3) a direct fight on tuberculosis. With the exception of the anti-tuberculosis work, which was distinctly an undertaking of the American Friends, one thinks of the Quaker work in Austria as being largely an English project, just as one thinks of the work in Germany as

² Quoted by Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

being almost entirely an American undertaking. Consequently the first three forms of Quaker relief in Austria will be treated quite briefly as they are set forth clearly and with abundant illustrations in Ruth Fry's charming book, *A Quaker Adventure*. Although the initiation of this work and much of its leadership and funds were British, the American Friends had an active part in it, contributing about \$400,000 in money and supplies, and sixteen American workers by 1922. For a time Clement Biddle, an able business man of New York City, was at the head of this joint work.

QUAKER AID FOR CHILDREN UNDER SIX YEARS OF AGE

Children under school age can be helped most effectively in their own homes. So the Friends established a system of food and clothing depots in each of the 21 bezirks or wards of the city. At this time there were 9 infant welfare centers maintained by the city and 27 maintained by 5 voluntary societies. These 36 centers were united under the control of a central committee and arrangements were made to establish 24 more centers so that every mother could conveniently reach one of them.³ Only mothers who brought their children regularly to these welfare centers could get the cards entitling them to buy food and clothing at the Friends' depots. The children were examined every two weeks and those who were considered by the doctor to be undernourished were given a card which en-

³ Fry, op. cit., p. 202.

abled the mother to secure a ration at a Friends' depot. This ration varied from time to time, but the following is a sample for one week: ⁴

Condensed Milk	two cans
Flour (or Oatmeal)	one-half pound
Fat	one-fourth pound
Sugar	one-fourth pound
Cocoa	one-fifth pound
Soap	one-fourth pound

The cards were marked A, B, or C by the doctor to indicate the degree of undernourishment. Especially needy children received additional articles such as fresh butter and cod-liver oil. The sum charged for this ration was 18 kronen in the summer of 1920, but no one whom investigation showed was too poor to pay even this amount was turned away. In 1920 the American Red Cross contributed \$100,000 worth of food for the very poor.

This ration was, of course, only supplementary to their meals at home. About 40,000 were fed at first, but the number was gradually increased to 64,000 at the peak in the winter of 1920-21. In April of 1921, the American Relief Administration extended its work to those between 4 and 6 years of age.

One of the most important things which the Quakers did for the child life of Vienna was to increase the milk supply. By the spring of 1920, the Mission had imported 290 cows and greatly increased the milk produc-

⁴Work of Friends' Relief Mission in Austria, a special report in 1920.

tion of the dairy herds already in Vienna by importing hundreds of tons of hay and linseed oil-cake. The importation of cows continued until probably 2,000 had been brought in, 1,128 being purchased between April, 1922, and February, 1923.⁵

The cows were sold to farmers and dairymen who paid for them by delivering a certain amount of milk each day to the Friends' depots. From here it was distributed to the mothers of from 7,000 to 8,000 children who came with cards from a welfare center physician entitling them to a pint of milk daily for each child. Not all of this milk was for the children of Vienna. The Quakers did considerable work outside of the city. During 1921, for example, the Mission added 1,018,809 liters to the Vienna supply of fresh milk for children and 410,489 liters for children in towns outside of Vienna.⁶ These amounts were trebled by 1923.

Next to food, the children of Vienna needed clothing. Frederick Kuh, an American worker, wrote as follows: "Clothing is as inadequate as it is dear. Not knowing this, a stranger might be startled at the sight of children in renovated potato sacks and babies wrapped in paper." The English Friends began early to meet this need. "By December, 1919, they had distributed 76,000 garments and 100,000 yards of material."⁷ The latter was made into clothing by unemployed workers in the

⁵ Report of American Friends Service Committee, 1923.

⁶ Report of the work of the Friends Relief Mission in Austria, Dec. 31, 1921.

⁷ Fry, op. cit., p. 211.

garment industry. The Friends used a room in the Hofburg Palace as a central clothing depot. After personal investigation needy parents were given permits to secure a limited amount of clothing for themselves and their children. Three pieces of anything for the baby, two for boys and girls, two for mother and one for father. This was furnished at about one-sixth of the cost price and sometimes was given gratis. In this way 250,000 parents and children were aided in the year 1920-1921.⁸

AID TO PROFESSIONAL, STUDENT, AND PENSIONED CLASSES

The incomes of professional people, as is always the case, increased only two or three times while living increased sixty times. The aged pensioners of the government (civil servants and army officers) were in desperate straits. Students also suffered a great deal and with so many already unemployed, it seemed wise to extend relief to them rather than allow their studies to be discontinued. "A committee of Friends and students was formed to arrange for a system of breakfasts for the neediest students, and by June, 1920, more than 2,000 students at the University and Technical Colleges in Vienna were having a breakfast of one-fourth liter of cocoa and one-tenth kilo of white bread. . . . Help in food was also given to the Mensa at various Commercial, Agricultural, and Technical Colleges, as well as an evening meal in many hostels, and a very

⁸ Report of American Friends Service Committee, 1921.

important department was that for providing clothing, rations of which were sold at greatly reduced prices.”⁹ This work was later taken over by the World Student Christian Federation, but the Quakers were largely the pioneers in the work.

Hundreds of the aged of the middle class who had retired on savings or on pension were given monthly rations of food and fuel. Another means of helping the middle class was arranging for the marketing in England and America for the arts and crafts work made by the women.¹⁰ Most of the initiative and funds for this work must be credited to the English. Miss Fry says that “over 2,000 people were helped in this way in 1921.”

AID TO AGRICULTURAL SETTLERS

In order to comprehend the Vienna Land Settlements movement, it will be necessary to keep in mind, (1) the food shortage already described, and (2) the housing shortage.

According to municipal statistics it has been estimated that of the 540,869 flats inspected in Vienna in 1919, 72% consisted of only one or two rooms and a small kitchen opening on a corridor, and a large number consisted of one room only. After the war an influx of refugees and the return of the demoralized army resulted in terrible overcrowding.¹¹ Ruth Fry says that

⁹ Report of American Friends Service Committee, 1921.

¹⁰ Ibid., 1922, p. 5.

¹¹ The Vienna Land Settlements by A. Atherton-Smith, Research Publication No. 1, Friends Council for International Service, 1925.

nearly half of the population lived, on the average, four people to a room.

The need for food led first to the parcelling out of unused land to the poor as "allotment gardens." In 1920, 70,000 families were deriving part of their living from gardens totaling 5,000 acres. As the housing shortage increased allotment holders began to build huts on their plots to sleep in during the summer. Then some of the people began to clamor for larger tracts of ground upon which they could erect permanent houses with room enough for poultry and a garden. "One blustery day in March, 1921, a vast crowd of men and women assembled in front of the Vienna Rathaus. Silent, white-faced, weakened by long privation and distress they held aloft their banners and mutely appealed to the authorities for help to help themselves. 'Give us Land, Wood, and Stone, and we will make Bread!'"¹² was their slogan. This motley throng of 200,000 citizens composed of crippled soldiers, artists, tired mothers, anæmic girls, teachers, and working men marched around the city.

This demonstration aroused the authorities and both state aid and municipal grants were promised. Stimulated by this promise of help, the half-dozen Coöperative Building Societies which were organized in 1921 had increased to about eighty by the end of 1923. Municipal grants to the extent of 26,865,093 kronen were made in 1921; 59,938,868,751 kronen in 1923,

¹² The Vienna Land Settlements by A. Atherton-Smith, Research Publication No. 1, Friends Council for International Service, 1925.

and these grants were increasing until the League of Nations' loans to Austria put restrictions upon municipal expenditures.

Groups of city workers, usually men from the same occupation, formed a Land Settlement Union, secured a tract of land and began to build small simple houses aided by government grants. Each family had 1,500 square meters of land. A fine spirit of coöperation and altruism developed as they aided each other in the heavier work. Each settler gave from 1,500 to 2,000 hours of labor toward making his own home. Both men and women dug trenches, made concrete blocks, and brick under supervision.

The Quakers cheered them on by establishing canteens at many of the settlements. These were non-alcoholic and were open on Saturday afternoons and Sundays when the workers and their families were out in full force but with an inadequate food supply.

More substantial aid was given in the form of grants and loans to supplement state grants which were often held up. The Quakers raised \$60,000 for this purpose. They also aided the settlers in securing poultry, pigs, and goats; and by arranging for welfare workers and gardening teachers for some of the settlements.

THE QUAKER FIGHT ON TUBERCULOSIS

In addition to the child-feeding work and the aid to land settlers, both of which helped to check tuberculosis, the Friends attacked the problem from three different angles: (1) they assisted a number of homes for

tubercular children, (2) they aided the tuberculosis centers in caring for denationalized peoples, and (3) they put on a three-year Anti-Tuberculosis Educational Campaign.

In April, 1923, the Friends were supporting 427 children in different homes for tubercular children, 150 of these being in the Home at Krems. In 1924 and 1925 the Quakers were supporting 225 children at Krems, about the full capacity of the institution. In addition large amounts of clothing and other equipment have been sent to these homes.¹³

The purpose of the tuberculosis welfare centers, of which there were eight supported by the city and six by private organizations, is to get serious cases away to sanatoriums as rapidly as possible, but Vienna contained thousands of people who were denationalized by the break-up of the empire. These people had no claim on the municipal centers and the private centers with their small means limited their aid to Austrian citizens. It was this group that the Friends helped especially through the private centers. A Viennese newspaper in speaking of the fight against tuberculosis said: "Besides the municipality we must thank the Society of Friends that the fight against tuberculosis had proved such a success. The regular monthly gifts of the society made it possible to continue the private tuberculosis centers. The Society of Friends has placed at our disposal a large amount of money for children who do not belong to Vienna, and who, although they need hospital

¹³ Reports of American Friends Service Committee for 1923-25.

treatment, would otherwise receive no help toward their expenses." ¹⁴ In March, 1923, 2,122 tubercular persons were drawing Quaker rations.

Two illustrations will give the reader a vivid picture of two classes of people whom the Quakers helped:

"The little Czech girl whom we saw one evening at a center typified for us the whole class. She had come with her old grandmother for an examination. Great frightened black eyes in a white little face, her body emaciated, thinly clad, she was a sight to wring one's heart. The big kind doctor talked with her a few moments and shook his head. The sadness of the whole group which she represented weighed heavily upon him. There was nothing which he could do, no fund upon which he could draw. The half-starved child, already in the firm clutches of the disease which he was fighting would die before the winter was over.

"That same evening another case attracted our attention. A mother had come with two children, Austrians these, all of them tubercular, all thin and underfed, and wearing that patient long suffering look of the poor who have lost all hope. They had all been in a sanatorium during the summer and had shown improvement. But the stay had not been long enough,—they had to leave to make way for others—and the winter ahead of them would probably prove fatal for the little boy. All three were paper makers, working in a dark, unheated room, with never enough to eat. The listless sad face of the six year old boy was unforgettable. It was another incident in the battle which Vienna is fighting against poverty and disease." ¹⁵

¹⁴ Translated from the Arbeiterzeitung und Neue Frie Presse of July 8, 1924. See Austrian files, American Friends Service Committee.

¹⁵ Report on Welfare Centers by Amy Winslow to the American Friends Service Committee, Oct., 1923.

In some ways the least spectacular but by all odds the most valuable piece of work done by the Quakers in Austria is being carried out by the American Society. The Central Relief Committee of New York City turned over to the Friends \$100,500 from the Three Million Dollar Campaign Committee for the purpose of putting on a three-year anti-tuberculosis campaign throughout Austria. About \$5,000 more has since been added to this fund, and the Friends have agreed to bear all the overhead expense in the distribution of this fund.

The plan, in brief, which was put into operation in the spring of 1924 and will probably close in April, 1927, was as follows: Seven young women from the provinces who were being trained in the anti-tuberculosis department of Dr. Pirquet's hospital in Vienna went back to the schools and other institutions in the provinces giving illustrated lectures. These were so well received that ten more were trained in 1923, and eleven in 1926. They took a ten months' course at the University hospital under Dr. Pirquet. They are mostly mature women who had previously taught in the provinces. They are equipped with slides and pictures for a series of lectures covering household hygiene, treatment of nurslings, hygiene of older children, nutrition, infectious diseases, and tuberculosis. These Wanderlehrerinnen or traveling teachers remain about ten days or two weeks in each place.

Special attention is given to the older girls. The lecturer, with the aid of a big doll and a complete baby



Photographed by Wm. Eves 3rd, Chief of the German Child-Feeding Mission.

Above Three children in small town near Cologne, 1920. Reading from left to right their ages are six, eight, and seven
Below School feeding at Frankfurt-am-Main, 1920 Note terrible condition of those in the front row

outfit, demonstrates how a baby should be washed and dressed. One report says: "Not only are the school children interested in the lectures of the traveling teachers, but the girls outside of the school come in as do also prominent town people. The local teachers attend when they are not teaching."¹⁶

Miss Emma Cadbury in her report, April, 1925, quotes from the report of a school inspector who attended ten lessons by a traveling teacher:

"The teacher gains the co-operation of the children in an exceptional degree by her very interesting lectures. In all her courses she gives the girls opportunity to become acquainted through their own work with the latest results of research and practice in the line of infant care. . . . Both the district and provincial school boards are very appreciative. . . . The people generally almost without exception recognize the value of this undertaking for the whole life."

The hope of the State Board of Education is that this important work will be taken over by the government, and provision made for one teacher in each district.

Such work cannot be statistically evaluated but in the view of the ignorance of the masses of the Austrian people on subjects of hygiene, sanitation and nutrition the ultimate effects of this work should be very far reaching. This, too, is the opinion of Dr. Wilbur K. Thomas, Executive Secretary of the American Friends' Service Committee. "In influence and effect," he said, "it is one of our big pieces of work."¹⁷

¹⁶ Report of the Tuberculosis Sub-Committee for the Council for International Service, March, 1924.

¹⁷ Personal interview.

CHAPTER X

WAR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN POLAND

Unfortunate Poland! Partitioned and re-partitioned, denied an independent existence for nearly a century and a half, devastated by contending forces in the World War, vexed by the perplexing problem of minority groups, peace was not for her with the signing of the Armistice. As one Quaker leader said, "There was still—in 1919—skirmishing going on on four fronts, the Russian, Lithuanian, German, and Czecho-Slovak, and when the frontiers were determined the minority problems to be settled might be likened to a fringe of four or five Irelands, one in each corner and another permeating the middle."¹

Into this confusion, at a time when only weekly diplomatic trains were being operated between Paris and Warsaw, a trio of Quakers, A. Ruth Fry and Thompson Eliot of England, and Dr. Walter Stephens, an American, got permission to go. They were warmly received by representatives of the government. A physician from the Ministry of Health accompanied them on a tour of southwestern Poland. Here they found the dreaded spotted typhus had increased from 34,538 cases in

¹ Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

1916 to 231,206 cases in the first half of 1919. The results of this trip was (1) to secure the attention of the government to the gravity of the situation, and (2) to induce the English Friends to send a group of twenty-five workers into this life-risking task.²

One cannot understand the extent and nature of the needs of the poverty-stricken inhabitants of Poland apart from the story of the refugees. According to official Russian statistics the number of people deported by the Russian government from the war area was: 800,000 Poles, 200,000 Jews, and 2,300,000 Ruthenians, White Ruthenians, and Russians, a total of 3,300,000 people. This number included 1,000,000 whose homes were not in present Polish territory. Down to Jan. 18, 1922, the following number had been repatriated: 290,000 Poles, 120,000 Jews, and 754,000 Ruthenians and White Ruthenians, a total of 1,155,000 people. About one-half of these got back before Dec. 31, 1920, and probably a little over 500,000 came in 1921, and about 1,000,000 more were expected.³

On Nov. 1, 1921, 1,130,000 refugees from the districts now comprising the Republic of Poland were registered in Russia to return. It was further estimated that one-fourth of them, *i.e.*, about 50,000 families, would need \$100 per family to recover their economic independence. This sum would be sufficient to providè

² See *ibid.*, p. 251.

³ Statement from S. M. Keeney to Dr. Taylor, American Red Cross, Warsaw.

the refugee with a horse and wagon, and leave a balance of \$40 or \$50 to be used for seed and implements.⁴

Many of these people had been forced to evacuate their homes at the time of the German offensive in 1915. Sometimes they were forced to leave on a few hours' notice with such valuables as they could haul in a cart; at other times they were put on railway trains and could take very little with them. Many of them wandered into Turkestan or into Siberia, but now after five or six years of privation, the longing for home, the dread typhus in Russia, and the famine in the Volga combined to draw them back to their devastated homes. They were aided in this desire by the Russian government which was anxious to get the refugees out of their famine stricken land.

It was the returning refugees that brought the typhus into Poland. To be sure there were two stations on the frontier where an attempt was made to prevent the spread of the disease, but when they came in crowds of 20,000 a week instead of the 4,000 that could be cared for the machinery broke down, and they poured across the border without disinfection.⁵

The early work of the Mission was focused on ridding certain areas of typhus. The work was begun in Zawiercie, a factory town of 30,000, and in the neighboring villages. Since the disease is communicated solely by body lice, typhus work consists in thorough disinfection of the people and all their belongings. The

⁴ Report of a Conference on the Refugee Situation by Oscar Moon, Jan. 13, 1922.

⁵ See Fry, op. cit., p. 268.

general plan was to get the people of a number of homes into the bathing station, then while they and their clothing were being thoroughly disinfected a spraying squad made an attack on their homes. Straw mattresses and everything that could not be thoroughly disinfected were piled out in the street and burned, then the houses were swept and scrubbed, and finally every piece of furniture, every crack and crevice, was sprayed with a carbolic solution. The Quakers met with some opposition at first because not every old wardrobe could stand the renovating process, but as the people saw the good results a public opinion in favor of cleanliness was developed. So thoroughly was the work done that typhus was reduced 90% within a few months.

The other forms of Quaker relief work in Poland were quite varied. The reason why it took certain forms can be most quickly and vividly explained by a somewhat lengthy quotation from the report of an American Friend who was all through the Vilno district in 1922.

"The story of these people is pretty much the same as that of any war refugees in Poland, the only difference being that refugees in any other part of Poland have been helped by either foreign organizations or by the government, whereas those in the Wilno * area for reasons noted below have not been helped at all. Driven before the retreating Russian armies in 1914 and 1915, they packed up what few chattels they could carry on a cart and started a great trek into the plains of Russia. Many did not even have time to take anything with them but were rounded into the trains

* Also spelled Vilno and Vilna.

and carried away. They were scattered all over Russia, the more widely scattered the better, thought the officials, for being Poles and Lithuanians, they were thought to be a restless and unsafe part of the population. The Tsarist government while it was still worthy of the name, made some attempt to feed them but would not let them go on the land; they must remain in the cities and support themselves by work. The Tsarist government was smashed, and the succeeding ones were too busy maintaining their own positions to bother themselves with war victims. . . . Heaven only knows every one in Russia by that time was a victim of war, and it was not until the Bolsheviki came into power that any consideration was given to these homeless wretches shivering in the cities. They were given passports and free transportation out of the country. Many of them could have had land if they wanted to stay, but Russia was not their home. . . .

"Many were caught in the famine in Russia and died. Some survived and returned "home." What did they return to? Certainly not to the land and buildings they had left; but to a waste of battle-torn trenches, land covered with endless reaches of barbed wire, and filled with shells waiting to explode and kill the peasant who sets his spade into the soil to prepare for his first crop. Forests of birch whose roots will defy eradication for the next ten years cover the fields that were once waving with grain. It is impossible adequately to describe the wilderness left on a modern battle front. It took 6,000,000 men working for three years with the most efficient machines science could invent to make that land what it is today; now a few thousand peasants, starved, half-naked, return and with their bare hands try to recover from it their lost homes.

"Barbed wire is everywhere. It has sunken into the lakes killing all the fish. It lies deep underground where it was driven by exploding shells, and catches and breaks the

peasant's plough. It makes of every forest an impassable thicket and of every hillside and plain, a forest of bristling steel. By machinery it was staked and clamped into the land to resist the barrage of high powered shells; a peasant returns with nothing but his hands to clear the land of this growth of the weeds of war. . . .

"Never did pioneer face such a prospect with such few resources at hand as refugees who return to this wilderness. They arrive with nothing and find nothing. They are starving when they come. They have no money, no beasts, no tools, hardly any clothing. Their only diet for the last two years—in some cases even longer—has been grass, roots, and potatoes. . . .

"Their dugouts are little better than sties. The best of dugouts are gloomy places to live in. . . . The roof is never more than three feet above the ground, the floor three feet or more below. The walls are of logs, the roof is either of logs or cement covered with earth. During the war they were probably quite comfortable, but now four years later, the logs are rotting, the heavy roofs are caving in. The mass of earth on top makes an excellent reservoir, so that the water drips inside during wet weather and dry. The only light comes in through the door when it is open. Thirty *per cent* of the people have tuberculosis. Forty thousand families live in such dugouts. In some of them as many as twelve people live." ⁷

Harry G. Timbres, quoted above, also collected statistics from 23 villages in the Vilno district. He says, "An average village was Drohicze; there used to be 24 families; 15 have returned, 13 are still living in dugouts; there used to be 50 horses before the war, there are now 14; 150 cows formerly, 17 now. One-tenth of

⁷ Report of H. G. Timbres' Visit to the Vilno District, Nov, 1922.

the land that used to be plowed is under cultivation for next year.

"One of the worst was Maly Kolsolziski. There were 40 families here before the war, 4 have returned, all live in dugouts; there are no horses, no cattle, about half an acre of ground was seeded with potatoes this spring and the crop from it—about 30 bushels—is the only food they have for the winter. It will last them until Christmas. Although this village lay behind the German lines, every house in it was destroyed and the land is a wilderness of young birch forest."⁸

These extracts from this report make clear that the problem was largely one of giving a frugal, industrious agricultural people inured to hardship a chance to get a new start. (The situation in Warsaw, of course, was different.) The first thing that had to be done aside from typhus work was to feed and clothe the destitute. The American Relief Administration and the Red Cross were engaged in this work on an extensive scale. The Friends coöperated with them, feeding 1,650 children in 1919-20 with food furnished by the American Relief Administration. They also enabled 12,000 of the neediest people in the region of Zawiercie to purchase, at a nominal price, clothing sent from England and America. The next year they aided the American Red Cross in the reorganization and distribution of supplies to children's institutions and homes.⁹

Although the Society of Friends did not expend the

⁸ Report of H. G. Timbres' Visit to the Vilno District, Nov., 1922.

⁹ Report of American Friends' Service Committee, 1920, p. 10.

vast sums in Poland which they spent in Germany and Russia—the American Friends spent about \$175,000 in four years—they were able to put most of it into reconstruction work and only a minimum into feeding operations that merely sustain life. We read in their reports such paragraphs as these: "Fifty cultivators, 1,000 scythes, and 2,000 sickles were sold at a low price or on partial credit. Barley, oats, garden seed, flax and hemp seed were supplied to 1,800 families carefully selected from 35 villages."¹⁰ Ten thousand dollars worth of seed and agricultural implements were distributed in 1920-21. In 1921-22, 1,100 horses were purchased of the Polish government and used to plow one to two acres for each of the neediest families. Thirty thousand acres were plowed in two years' time. Mission tractors plowed 2,500 acres in 1921. Gifts of flax and wool were made to 2,000 needy families to encourage cotton industries. In 1922-23 the Mission reported that over 25,000 families had been aided in some way. Five hundred houses in 30 villages have been repaired by the peasants aided by Mission gifts.

One of the most valuable pieces of work was the hauling of timber from the government forests to rebuild the homes of the peasants in the Vilno area. Very little had been done for these people. This district had been under seven different governments since the beginning of the war, six of these changes taking place after the armistice, consequently no government held it long enough to establish a constructive policy.

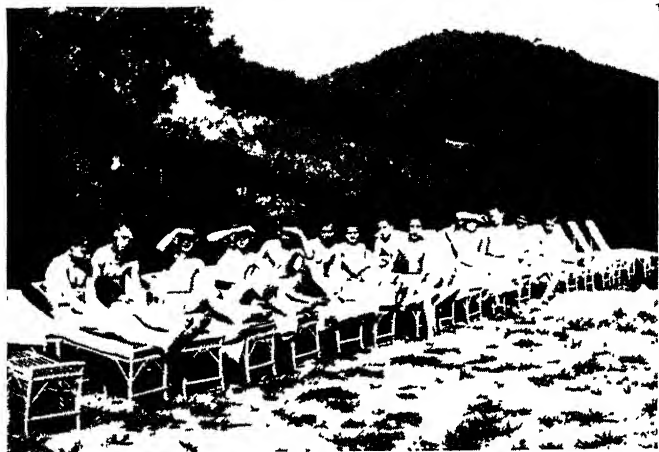
¹⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

As soon as the district was finally granted to Poland by the League of Nations in April, 1922, the government began to give some help in the form of loans, seeds, and timber grants.¹¹ But a grant of timber twelve to forty-five miles from the peasant's home did not put a roof over his head. So the Quakers, beginning in the winter of 1923 and continuing until April, 1924, used many of their horses in hauling timber for house building. This was a great boon to the peasants. A few who had already constructed their huts had done so by a tremendous outlay of labor. Some of them had carried material, log by log, a distance of ten miles. By May, 1923, 13,000 cubic feet of wood, enough to build 1,600 houses, had been hauled.¹² Perhaps, the value of this service would be more apparent if we were to add that this was sufficient to rebuild all the houses in forty or fifty villages. The Quaker work, however, did not stop with the hauling. They secured many hand saws for the people and operated two sawmills to prepare the logs for building purposes.

As the Quaker work drew to a close in the summer of 1925 they wanted to leave some permanent memorial of their work, something that would be typical of their work in Poland, something constructive, living, serving humanity such as the hospital clinics in Germany or the Chalons Maternity Hospital in France. They found it in the idea of an agricultural school and orphanage combined. The war period had left many of the

¹¹ Report of H. G. Timbres' Visit to the Vilno District, Nov., 1922.

¹² See Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 283.



Photographed by Wm. Eves 3rd, Chief of the German Child-Feeding Mission.

Above Boys at Baden-Baden taking sunbaths for tuberculosis, 1920. They are receiving a supplementary meal from the Quakers.
Below Children in Kindergarten, Leipzig, 1920. Note girl alongside the cart. She is six years of age, but too retarded physically to enter school.

children of small land-owning peasants orphaned. Some of these boys now in their teens had spent years in exile and had not received the practical training in farming and stock raising that they would normally have received. So the Society planned to provide an institution for the training of these boys in agriculture and to provide a home for a few younger orphans, both boys and girls. The estate of Kolpin on the river Bug near Brest-Litovsk was leased for a period of twelve years and equipped for the purposes intended.

After the institution was put into working order it was turned over to the Agricultural Department of the government. During 1924-25 about twenty-five boys received agricultural training, and twenty other children were cared for in the Kolpin Agricultural School and Orphanage. Last year (1926) the members of the first graduating class of the institution were given tools, seeds, and some livestock by an American Quaker so that they could go to work on their own land.

The Society of Friends still maintain a good-will center in Warsaw which is a center of activities for promoting international peace and understanding. Henry Harris, Chief of the Friends' work there, was one of the leading spirits in the two minorities conferences held by the Poles and the Germans. Individual Poles appreciated the kindness of the Quakers, the higher governmental officials gave them excellent co-operation and appreciated their relief work, but few caught the essential spirit of the Quakers.

There is very little open pacifism in Poland. As one of the Quaker workers wrote: "Hatreds and fears are too sharp and too real. Bolshevist Russia looms to Poland like one dragon and Germany like another.¹⁸ Should Germany and Russia, in the next half century, cultivate the arts of peace, turning their backs upon militarism, we may expect the Quaker message to bear fruit in Poland. If they do not, the chances are that the young sprouts of Quaker idealism will wither and die under the scorching fires of national animosities and racial prejudices.

¹⁸ Letter of Wilmer J. Young to the American Friends Service Committee, Feb. 4, 1925.

CHAPTER XI

WAR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN RUSSIA (1916-1919)

The German invasion of Russia in the autumn of 1915 forced an evacuation of the civil population over a wide area. These White Russian peasants, hastily gathering their most valuable possessions into carts and wagons, left their prosperous homes and well-tilled fields to journey they knew not whither. On and on they went, finding no stopping place, each community being only too glad to provide them with a little food and pass them on to the next village. In this manner some reached Siberia, many of them went into Turkestan 2,000 miles from their homes where they remained for a year losing 55% of their numbers. The conditions were so appalling that the authorities arranged for them to return to the Volga provinces.

These, of course, were not the only refugees. As time went on, conditions grew worse so that the American Friends' Service Committee in 1918 estimated that there were 12,000,000 refugees in European Russia, Siberia, and Turkestan.

The most of the Quaker relief work in this period was initiated and directed by the English Friends, ably

assisted by a half-dozen American women and by contributions from the American Friends' Service Committee. It would be hard to find six more capable, intrepid, and consecrated women than Nancy Babb, Emily Bradbury, Amelia Farbiszewski, Anna Haines, Lydia Lewis, and Esther White. As the work of the English and American Friends was inextricably intertwined but predominantly English, I shall give only a brief account of this period.¹

Early in 1916 a party of four English Friends, William A. Cadbury, Joseph Burt, Theodore Rigg, and Robert Tatlock, were sent to Russia to investigate persistent rumors of suffering among the refugees. "In Moscow they called upon Prince Lvoff and found his friendly help immediately forthcoming. They learned that there were estimated to be two and one-half million refugees in European Russia, of whom the largest number in proportion to the population were to be found in the Samara province."² Three of this party went on to Buzuluk town, the capital of the county by the same name in the province of Samara. Robert Tatlock, the head of the committee, made the following graphic report of the situation:

"The large number of refugees, the poverty of the land on which they find themselves, the severity of the climate, the widespread lack of clothing, the local shortage of food, the prevalence of disease, the high refugee death rate, the

¹ For a full account of the English contribution see A. Ruth Fry's book, *A Quaker Adventure*, pp. 133-192, from which I have drawn much of the material in this chapter.

² Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

insufficient nature of such few relief bodies as exists, and the long standing nature of the trouble, all help to make the Russian problem, if not the most striking or the most vivid, still the largest and in many ways, the most dreadful civil phenomenon of this, or it may be of any war.”³

The English Quakers responded promptly and that summer (1916) saw about thirty workers with medical supplies adequate for running three small hospitals set out on the long and uncertain journey to the heart of Russia. Three relief centers were established which were later increased to five. These were from twenty to fifty miles apart. The relief work may be conveniently grouped under four heads: material relief, maintenance of work-rooms, care of orphans, and medical relief.

MATERIAL RELIEF.—At first, not a great deal of food was distributed except as the relief workers found very needy cases. Clothing, however, was greatly needed and large bales of it sent from England were distributed. The American Friends sent over \$20,000 worth of clothing in 1917-18, having done very little before that time. This distribution of clothing not only enabled the adults to work, but it was a health measure as well. Without it, the people would have been forced to remain in “the fetid, disease-producing atmosphere of their crowded rooms during all the six months of winter.” In the latter part of this period, the Quakers bought corn of the Cossacks and other more favored districts for distribution free or much under cost. They

³ Bul. No. 16, American Friends Service Committee, p. 10.

also furnished some seed grain and potatoes. Ruth Fry tells of an interesting scheme which indirectly furnished material relief. The Quakers offered a reward for suslik skins. These little animals, reproducing themselves twenty to thirty times in a season, are very destructive of young crops. Three hundred and fifty thousand skins were brought in, for which the Quakers paid twenty thousand rubles. Their value as fur was less than that amount, but it seems to have been money well spent when one considers that it prevented the ravages of several millions of the pest in the course of the season.

WORK ROOMS.—A preponderance of women among the adult refugees who had no work to do led the Mission to establish work-rooms at each of the centers. Most of these women were accustomed to spinning and weaving, and, as the raw wool could be bought in the surrounding country, this industry seemed to be the most suitable. The wool was washed, combed, spun, woven, and made into garments by these women. It was not long until every refugee family had, at least, one representative adding something to the family income. Refugees living in distant villages were given wool to be worked up at home. On market days they brought in their finished products and received their pay from the Mission.

CARE OF ORPHANS.—Many children were found whose parents had died on the long journey; they did not know what district they came from, and were strangers to the rest of the refugees. The Quakers

established a home and a trade school for one hundred of these who could not be otherwise provided for.

MEDICAL RELIEF.—This was probably the most important phase of the work in this period, (1) because the regular doctors, with one exception, were away with the army so that the need was great, and (2) because medical aid was given to the native inhabitants as well as to the refugees. This softened the peasants' attitude toward the other forms of relief bestowed upon the refugees whom they disliked and wished to be rid of. Ruth Fry says that the nurses saw about eight thousand out-patients at the hospital every month besides doing much district nursing. The doctors also made long journeys in springless carts to visit serious cases of illness in the villages. Gradually some of the refugees were trained to help with the nursing in the hospitals so that much was accomplished with a limited staff.⁴ In 1918 the Russian doctors began to return from the army and the Quakers withdrew from medical relief work, concentrating their activities in the town of Buzuluk.

The situation in Buzuluk, at this time, called for special attention. Many additional refugees had arrived hoping to start on the return journey home, only to be disappointed by the constantly fluctuating political and military situation.

The Friends' unit, at the request of the Refugee Committee, opened workhouses for men and women, started a labor exchange to find suitable refugees to

⁴ See Fry, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-4.

work in the forests, opened a boys' work-shop, and operated a soup kitchen for stranded refugees.

In July Theodore Rigg (English) and Esther White (American) went to Moscow to see what could be done to relieve the suffering of children there. They found that the city was practically cut off from its sources of food supply by the warring armies. They decided that they could perform the greatest service by taking charge of three children's colonies in the Tambov government. The difficulties they encountered will illustrate why it was expedient for all the Quakers to withdraw from Russia that autumn. In the first place the Allies were at this time blockading Russia and supporting counter-revolutions which placed all foreign workers under suspicion. In the second place there were no means of receiving money from England with which to carry on the work. Fortunately, for this particular venture, an American ex-consul from Tiflis who was about to leave for England very kindly advanced four thousand pounds sterling in roubles, on Theodore Rigg's written word that the Society of Friends in London would repay him. With this money, these two workers procured clothing for the children and reorganized the children's colonies which they turned back to the Russians in February, 1919.

Ex-American consuls willing to lend \$20,000 in ready cash for carrying on the general work were not to be found in Russia every day. Communication between England and Russia was almost entirely shut off; all the Allied consuls, as well as all charitable organiza-

tions were leaving the country, supplies could not be sent in; so on the 9th of October, 1918, the last party, three American and two English workers, left Buzuluk for Siberia, the only way open to them.⁵ Thus ended the Quaker relief work in the Volga until they were called back two years later to combat fever and famine of vast and desolating proportions.

The next heard of the American workers was on the 16th of December when the Philadelphia office of the American Friends' Service Committee received the following cable from Anna Haines:

"Refugee conditions Omsk terrible Babb Bradbury Haines starting relief Fifty thousand dollars required for six months with 500 families. Is gift 20,000 from American Red Cross available? Will Friends support this work? If not we join American Red Cross who promise support. No word from Philadelphia for 8 months. Address communications through State Department American Red Cross Vladivostok."⁶

A few days later another cable informed the Philadelphia office that a group of the men from the English unit were in Tokio and expected to leave for America in January. The Service Committee, therefore, decided to wait until these men arrived in February before reaching conclusions as to the Siberian work, but they cabled the others to work with the American Red Cross and the Friends would pay their personal expenses.⁷

Ruth Fry says of this group of three American and

⁵ For full account see Fry, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-156.

⁶ A few punctuations were added for the sake of clearness.

⁷ Minutes of American Friends' Service Committee.

three English workers: "They were responsible for an amazing number of activities amongst the refugees, including the investigation of 1,000 cases, a school and typhus hospital, and colonies containing 1,000 children. . . . Our workers gave what help they could in Omsk, Irkutsk, Ekaterinburg, and Vladivostok, and it was not till the summer of 1919 that they had all reached home, via America, thus closing the first chapter of our work in Russia." ⁸

⁸ Minutes of American Friends' Service Committee, p. 156.

CHAPTER XII

RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN RUSSIA (1920-1925)

Why was it necessary for foreign public and private philanthropy, three years—lacking two months—after the World War ended, to take millions of dollars worth of food and medical supplies into Russia to check famine that threatened to wipe out 20,000,000 of her people? One might dismiss the question lightly by attributing it to crop failures or to the vagaries of the Soviet government, or if one were historically minded he might trace it back to centuries of misrule under the czars with considerable plausibility. But the question still persists, what was there in the events of recent years which, when drought came, made famine inevitable? A full answer to that question may give added point to the Quaker views on international relations; namely, that “only service and love, not war and hatred, can bring peace and happiness to mankind.” Hence the relevancy of the question,

WHY WAS EXTENSIVE RELIEF NEEDED, 1921-1924?

The foreword to a recent American Relief Administration bulletin names a long list of conditions which existed in Russia:

“Years of war, revolution and counter-revolution, prohibition of trade, paralysis of industry, disorganized transpor-

tation, worthless currency, commercial isolation, destruction of homes, lowered resistance of the inhabitants incident to poverty, unhygienic existence and pestilence recurring with monotonous regularity had so demoralized the Russian people that they were entirely helpless to cope with their new enemy which appeared in the spring of 1921, when complete failure of crops occurred throughout the Volga Basin and in the Southern Ukraine, and threatened 24,000,000 persons with starvation and those scourges which always keep company with famine."¹

The causes primarily responsible for these conditions may be grouped under four heads:

1. Six years of continuous international and civil war,—particularly international war which scattered 12,000,000 refugees throughout Russia.

2. The requisitioning or attempt to requisition grain in conformity with the Communist principles, and in making private sales of grain illegal. Figures collected by the Bureau of Statistics for the Province of Samara indicate that requisitioning did affect the acreage of grain.² The average annual amount of land sown to wheat, rye, oats, and barley from 1912-1921 was as follows:

Year	Amount of land in dessiantes ³
1912	2,543,398
1913	2,738,433
1914	2,895,333
1915	2,818,647
1916	2,417,285
1917	2,674,711

¹ American Relief Administration Bul., Series 2, No. 45, Apr., 1926.

² See Current History, 15:627-36, Jan., 1922.

³ A dessiante equals two and one-half acres.



Photographed by Alfred G. Smaltz of the American Friends Relief and Reconstruction Mission to Russia.

Above Siberian horse and his owner.

Below Horses after their long journey overland to Russia.

RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN RUSSIA (1920-1925) 131

1918	1,716,316
1919	1,174,866
1920	989,285
1921	979,921

The variation in production of grain in the Samara province during this period is even more striking:

Year	Yield in Poods (36 pounds)
1912	119,101,000
1913	132,515,000
1914	84,983,000
1915	132,254,000
1916	58,354,000
1917	333,769,000
1918	91,184,000
1919	49,941,000
1920	18,803,000
1921	3,000,000

The reduction of nearly 850,000 dessiantes in the amount of land sown to grain in 1918 is probably accounted for by the fact that it was preceded by two very bad crops. The 1916 yield was scarcely half of an average crop and 1917 brought forth little more than one-fourth of the average crop.

The drop of over half a million dessiantes in the amount of land sown in 1919 is probably due to the requisitions made in 1918. The requisitions continued and the next year showed a further falling off in cultivation of nearly 200,000 dessiantes.

It seems to me that we can conservatively conclude that the requisitions cut the yield in 1919 an amount equal to 21,000,000 poods, and in 1920, 15,000,000 poods. Their effect in 1921 was practically nil.

3. **THE DROUGHT.**—The Bureau of Statistics quoted above shows that with almost the same acreage in 1920-1921, namely, 989,285 and 979,921 dessiantes respectively, the total production in 1921 was only about one-sixth of the 1920 yield which in turn was only about two-fifths of the average crop per dessiante sown. Only three-tenths of an inch of rain fell in the Volga basin during the grain-growing months of April, May, and June according to the government bureau. Anna J. Haines, who was in the Volga district at the time, says that from October, 1920, to June, 1921, only two and one-half inches of rain fell whereas the average rainfall is fourteen inches.⁴ Admitting then that the plan of requisitioning grain was a mistake, the fact remains that the drought produced a shortage over and beyond the shrinkage induced by the requisitions of 15,000,000 poods. Since 1920 was itself a poor harvest, we may go farther and say that the number of dessiantes sown in 1920 would have produced in an average year 45,000,000 more poods than was produced.

4. **THE BLOCKADE OF RUSSIA.**—No formal blockade was issued. The United States in accordance with its historic doctrine of the freedom of the sea refused to acknowledge the blockade but acquiesced in it by declining to give clearance papers to Soviet ports. "The Allies," as Jerome Davis said, "merely invited the Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, Spanish, Swiss, Mexican, Argentinian, Colombian, Venezuelian,

⁴ Minutes, American Friends Service Committee, Oct. 18, 1921.

and German governments to exert economic pressure; to refuse clearance papers to every ship going to Russian ports in the hands of the Bolsheviks or coming from said ports; to take like measures for all merchandise destined to be sent to Bolshevik Russia by any other route; to refuse passports to all persons going to Bolshevik Russia or coming from it, except through understanding with the Allied and Associated governments, to request refusal by each government to its nationals of facilities for correspondence with Bolshevik Russia by post, telegraph or wireless.

"In the winter of 1919 a Swedish Congress of Metal Workers demanded trade relations with Russia. The Foreign Minister replied that if Sweden should attempt this it would mean war with the Entente. . . .

"In the winter of 1919 the Soviet Government bought 40,000,000 roubles worth of seeds in Denmark. The Allies blocked their delivery. In the same year, a ship load of medical supplies bought by the Russian government in Scandinavia was seized by the British naval forces and Russians died in consequence.

"In July 1921 three and a half years after the Bolsheviks had taken the power, the American State Department announced the removal of the restrictions which have hitherto stood in the way of trade and commerce with Soviet Russia. Even then, however, passports were not granted to go to Russia,—no mail was accepted for that country and American traders were specifically warned that the title to anything they

took from Russia might be questioned in a court of law. All private dealers, bankers, and our government could not accept gold unless it was established that it did not come directly or indirectly from Soviet Russia. . . . Even as late as May 13, 1924, an official letter from our State Department states:

"'No assurance can be given that Russian gold could be disposed of in the United States if imported to the Federal Reserve Banks, the mints, or otherwise.'"⁵

In October, 1919, seventy of the most eminent French men of letters including Anatole France, George Duhamel, Henri Barbusse, Charles Gide, and Victor Henri signed a daring protest:

"Russia is about to see drawn around it a criminal blockade without precedent and excuse. Millions of innocent beings who are not always able even to understand the causes of their profound suffering, but who none the less are tortured, are about to experience more cruelly than ever hunger and all the material and moral disasters which hunger brings with it.

"The Allied governments to attain this inhuman end have united with their former enemy and have not hesitated to exert pressure on neutrals.

"A great crime is being committed against humanity. . . . We refuse to be parties to the crime; we refuse to be parties to it even by our silence. We protest with all the force of our hearts and minds against an act unworthy of human-

⁵ Davis, Jerome, "Shall America Recognize Russia," *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 114:77-78, July, 1924.

ity in general and of the traditions of our country in particular.”⁶

Herbert Hoover made one lame attempt to show that the blockade had no effect on the situation. He said, “Some officials in Russia and their followers seek to blame the responsibility for this situation (famine conditions) upon America. The point where we are supposed to have incurred this responsibility was in continuation of the blockade after the war was won. This blockade imposed as a war measure against a co-operation of Russia with Germany was continued for a year after peace. I, myself, was one of those who strongly advocated that this should not be done, because I felt that whatever goods could filter into Russia would relieve just that much individual misery, and that it would be well for us to lift the curtain on this experiment in Economics. We know now, however, that it would not have made one jot of economic difference in the real situation of the Russian people had the blockade never been imposed. The economic troubles of Russia were from within and not from without, for Russian productivity was being destroyed in this social experiment, and she had no commodities for exchange even if exchange had been permitted.”⁷

One has only to examine the breakdown of the German industrial system to perceive the fallacy in at-

⁶Quoted by Ross, E. A., *Russian Soviet Republic*, New York, 1923, pp. 301-2.

⁷American Relief Administration Bulletin, Series 2, No. 25, p. 2, June, 1922.

tributing Russia's economic troubles wholly to her social experiment. If Germany had been subjected to another year of blockade as stringent as the Russian blockade and then had had two crop failures, she would have had famine as the Russians came to know the meaning of the term regardless of her economic or governmental system.

Professor Ross goes to the heart of the matter when he compares the Russian blockade with the cutting off of the section of the United States west of the Missouri-Mississippi River, occupied with the extractive industries, from the more industrialized East. He wonders what the West would be like after three years of isolation. "To the older section, it looks not only for clothing, medicines, surgical instruments, paper, furniture, and vehicles, but also for the equipment of its basic industries—steel rails, locomotives, mine hoists, stamp mills, machinery, garden seeds and tools. . . . I do not contend that nationalized plants will succeed, but I do insist that there is no economic system which would not collapse under such strains as Russia's economic system had been subjected to since August 1914."⁸

LOCATION AND EXTENT OF THE FAMINE AREA

The famine region was in the Volga valley from Kazan southward to the mouth of the river, stretching also to the north and the east including part of the provinces of Vyatha, Perm, and Ufa. This region was 800 miles from north to south, and 400 miles from east

⁸ Op. cit., pp. 298-9.

to west, and contained approximately 24,000,000 people.

REAL FAMINE CONDITIONS

Murray S. Kenworthy in his report to the American Friends' Service Committee has left us vivid pictures of what he saw and experienced following his entry into Russia on Oct. 28, 1921. Here is his description of conditions. "In those days people were feeding the last of the thatch off of their roofs to domestic animals. English sparrows desperate in their hunger were scratching deep holes into the thatch hunting for a few spare grains. Weeds, grass, and bleaching bones from off the plains were gathered and powdered, and so long as their flour lasted a little of it was mixed with the powdered stuff and made into bread. When the flour gave out they held this mixture together with glue from horses' hoofs." ⁹

He was told that there were occasions when parents leaving the house tied their children to the furniture to prevent them in their ravenous hunger from gnawing each other. Two of the Quaker workers were eye witnesses of cannibalism.

A report of the American Relief Administration says: "Late in 1921 rumors of cannibalism began to reach us. Many authentic cases of parents killing and devouring their children were soon definitely established. Murders were also committed and the bodies of the

⁹ American Friends Service Committee files. Report of Murray S. Kenworthy.

victims used for food. Conditions grew worse and famine became constantly more and more frequent.”¹⁰

The same report goes on to say that Professor Frank of the Department of Mental and Nervous Diseases in Khartov University established the authenticity of twenty-six cases in which human beings were killed and eaten by their murderers; also the authenticity of seven cases in which the murder was committed and the bodies in the form of sausages were sold. Necrophagia became so common that Orenburg passed a law permitting sale of meat in bulk form only. Dr. Frank thinks that probably a great proportion of the cases of cannibalism were incident to mental derangement.

ATTITUDE OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TOWARD FOREIGN RELIEF

In view of the desperate situation described above, one might suppose that the government would have accepted aid from any source without asking questions or putting obstacles in the way. The American Relief Administration, however, was not so cordially received, although it came with a \$20,000,000 appropriation from Congress for food and seed grains, and \$4,000,000 worth of surplus army medical supplies. Furthermore, the Russian government must have known that more would be forthcoming if warranted by the need. As a matter of record it should be said that the American Relief Administration between September, 1921, and

¹⁰ American Relief Administration Bulletin, Series 2, No. 45, April, 1926.

July, 1923, provided a grand total of almost \$60,000,000 for food relief and \$8,000,000 for medical relief.¹¹

The American Relief Administration merely asked that its cargoes be excused from paying port-dues, that the internal expenses of transportation, warehousing, storage, and distribution of the food be paid by the Soviet government, that it have full control over the goods and their distribution in the country, and that their agents be free to go anywhere in the country. These appear to be reasonable demands, yet Soviet officials delayed and haggled over agreements, promised transportation and failed to provide it, sometimes American Relief Administration records and letter files were surreptitiously examined, and the soldiers who guarded their trains sometimes stole from them. Such seeming lack of gratitude calls for explanation.

The Soviet government suspected the American Relief Administration of being a weapon of their enemies, the Whites, and of being a scheme to further counter-revolution. The fact that it was a governmental agency until the signing of the peace treaty with Germany, and that, as a voluntary relief organization, it retained its old personnel of military men undoubtedly added to their distrust, although from many angles it added to the efficiency of the relief work.

In the second place the Soviet government was slow to accept the American Relief Administration because they believed that the American Consul at Vladivostok had helped the counter-revolutionary forces, and that

¹¹ Ibid.

in 1918 the Allies furnished large sums of money to Russians plotting the overthrow of the Bolshevik government. This continued even after peace with Germany was signed as Jerome Davis points out, "Recall for a moment the history of the situation: there was the attack from the north with American and Allied soldiers, from the east with American, Japanese, and Czecho-Slovak soldiers; from the south by Denikin with Allied aid; from the south by Wrangel with Allied aid; and from the west by Udenich with Allied aid; and again from Poland with French bayonets." ¹²

In the third place the Russian government was made suspicious of the motives of foreign relief in view of the continued blockade described at some length above.

Colonel William M. Haskell claims that relations with the Soviet government after the first six months were entirely satisfactory, but this is vehemently denied by his chief assistant, Colonel Philip Mathews. The latter was sent in June, 1923, by Colonel Haskell to Kazan to investigate reports that the Soviets were attempting to seize and hold the foodstuffs. "We found," says Mathews, "that our warehouses were filled with our foodstuffs and that the local committees charged with sending that food out to the villages where it could be put into kitchens, were holding it under order of the Central Moscow government." ¹³

¹² *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 114:77.

¹³ Article by Colonel Philip Mathews in *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 114:38.

This is only one of many specific violations of agreements cited.

The attitude of the Soviet government toward the Quakers was quite different as both the English and American Friends testify. "We have to record," says Ruth Fry, "a very great deal of helpful co-operation from the Soviet, though truth requires the admission that in our dealings with all Governments we have occasionally found unfriendly, as well as friendly officials, and doubtless there have been faults on our side as well as on the other. Such difficulties as we have had in Russia may very well have arisen from a new found joy in red-tape on the part of the minor officials, which is natural in a newly constituted government. For instance, permits have sometimes been withheld in a way to make serious difficulties in the work, but on the other hand we have received most courteous help and co-operation from high officials in Moscow as well as from local ones in the provinces, and a description of us in a Russian official letter as 'psychologically incapable of espionage,' shows a perceptive, if a humorous, understanding of our position."¹⁴

She further states that the loss of goods was less than that often experienced on an English railway—about one-half of one *per cent* according to another English Quaker—and that in the one instance where goods were permanently lost they received a check for 1,300 pounds in full payment, in London, before they knew of the loss.

¹⁴ Fry, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-6.

Murray S. Kenworthy, an American Quaker, wrote back enthusiastically concerning the coöperation of the Russian government.

"They welcomed us into the country giving us free transportation for ourselves and our baggage, furnished us the homes in which we lived, and they were, in the famine area, among the best buildings in the territory, equipped with the best of their furniture and comfortably heated. They gave us the best they had in the way of transportation. They gave us free use of telegraph and telephone, furnished us with garages, mechanics, free repair service, motor greases, oils, gasoline and kerosene for our outfits. They furnished us with interpreters and Russian assistants all at their own cost. They received our food and supply equipment at the entry port of Riga or Reval, transported them under guard and guaranteed deliveries to our warehouses in the famine area, and in spite of all the hardships under which the railroad workers labored, and these at times were serious because of broken down equipment, the severe winter, and the necessity of burning wood often encased in snow and ice, and at one time when typhus was raging at its height 40% of the railroad men were stricken—I say in spite of these hardships they handled our materials with so much care that of every 100 pounds that started from our Atlantic seaports we were able to deliver 99 pounds to the warehouses of the famine area."¹⁵

The significance of Kenworthy's report is not in the things which the Russians did for the Quakers, but in the faithfulness and willingness with which they did them, because the Quakers entered Russia under an agreement which had been worked out by the Ameri-

¹⁵ Report of Murray S. Kenworthy in files of American Friends Service Committee.

can Relief Administration and was applicable to all foreign relief agencies in Russia.

The roseate picture here sketched of Russia's welcome to the Quakers must be somewhat modified by later developments. In 1923 the American unit at Sorochinskoye reported that their contract with the government was "either being evaded or enforced with great difficulty." Farther on in their report the point is brought out that their difficulty was mainly with the local authorities who were apt to be jealous or distrustful of any extension of foreign activities. "At the present time," continues the report, "the intellectual as well as the political life of Russia centers in a few cities; there would be much more understanding of the Friends' purposes in Moscow for example than in Sorochinskoye. Also, if we co-operate in work undertaken jointly with the government we should not run the risks of mutual misinterpretation with provincial administration which now interferes with both the results and the spirit of our work."¹⁶

These recommendations were followed in the reconstructive work of the Quakers along lines of health improvement with very satisfactory results as we shall see in succeeding paragraphs.

CHILDREN'S WORK IN AND AROUND MOSCOW, 1920

For nearly a year and a half following the closing of the work described in the previous chapter, there were

¹⁶ From a statement by the Sorochinskoye Unit to the American Friends Service Committee, Jan. 31, 1923.

no Quaker relief workers in Russia, but in August, 1920, Anna J. Haines (American) and Arthur Watts (English) returned in response to the growing need among the children. The work was largely confined to children in their homes and in institutions in and around Moscow. Upwards of 35,000 children were given much needed food, clothing, and medicines according to their individual needs before June 1, 1921. Although the American Friends' Service Committee contributed only \$25,000 for this work, they coöperated with the English Friends in the distribution of \$550,000 worth of supplies sent them by various agencies from the two countries. The Joint Distribution Committee (Jewish) furnished them with \$115,000 worth of supplies; the American Red Cross gave them \$100,000 worth of medical supplies and clothing; and the American Relief Administration gave them \$50,000 worth of cottonseed-oil and \$50,000 worth of condensed milk.¹⁷

CALL TO THE FAMINE AREA IN BUZULUK COUNTY

Buzuluk County in the Province of Samara has an area larger than that of Massachusetts and Connecticut combined. The southern half of the county is similar to our western prairies, but to the north there are deep woods of pine and fir. Many small streams flowing through the foothills of the Ural Mountains have cut deep gullies in the light loamy soil. These streams become raging torrents in the spring, so that

¹⁷ Report of American Friends Service Committee, 1921.

only the strongest bridges can withstand the breakup of the ice. Consequently most bridges are made of poles covered with straw. These bridges are either allowed to fall to pieces in winter or are removed. The replacing of bridges and work in the forests were two means by which the adults helped to pay for the relief which they received.¹⁸

The County has a normal population of about 600,000, mostly peasants living in mud huts. Only the wealthy peasants have wooden houses. The two main towns are Buzuluk with a normal population of 15,000 surrounded by an agricultural territory, and Sorochinskoye, forty miles to the east, a town of 8,000 inhabitants. It was formerly a grain and wool center.¹⁹

By an agreement with the American Relief Administration the English and American Friends accepted the responsibility for famine relief in this ooyezd or county, one of the worst in the famine area. The English had charge of the western part of the county with headquarters at Buzuluk (town) and the Americans used Sorochinskoye as a center for their work in the eastern half of the county.

Owing to the slowness with which gifts came in during the early fall, the Quakers were not able to get as much food into Russia before winter closed the ports as they needed. The Americans began by feeding about 20,000 children which was only one out of five

¹⁸ From a questionnaire on Buzuluk County, in the files of the American Friends Service Committee, answered by Emily Bradbury.

¹⁹ Ibid.

that needed food. As their supplies arrived the number was increased to a maximum of 68,500. Later in the year it became necessary to feed adults also, or leave the entire child population orphaned. Gifts of shelled corn from the American Relief Administration enabled them to give adults about one funt (14 oz.) of shelled corn per day. The Americans fed as high as 78,000 adults. Kenworthy thinks it was a mistake to feed only the children and if he had it to do over he would feed them by families. He estimated that there were 5,000,000 orphans in Russia as a result of war, famine and disease. Who can foretell the social consequences to the nation's life of this host of unmothered, undirected children?

Despite their handicaps, however, the American and English Friends between September, 1920, and June, 1921, fed 403,500 out of a population in September of 655,000. The American Quakers were successful in securing contributions of 55,000 barrels of flour, 2,500,000 pounds of corn grits, and 234,029 pounds of garden seeds. The latter were contributed by the large seed houses of America, and the first two came from the farmers and the millers of this country.²⁰

The condition of the children in the homes for orphans was most pitiable. They lay on bare boards with no clothing except a little shirt reaching half way to the knees when the temperature outside reached forty degrees below zero in December and fifty-five degrees below in February. Evelyn Sharp, an English worker,

²⁰ Report of American Friends Service Committee, 1921.

gives in her diary her reaction to the experience of a day spent in visiting these orphanages:

"After visiting these institutions and a hospital as well where the shortage of everything made wards almost into torture chambers, the sight of the silent dead in the cemetery was shorn of much of its tragedy. A great pile of some 400 bodies stood awaiting burial in the frozen ground—men, women and children, many half naked, all emaciated and frozen stiff, so that at a little distance they looked like bundles of faggots. One's first feeling was one, not of horror or repulsion, but of relief that their sufferings were over."²¹

The spring of 1922 found the peasants terribly reduced in weight and physical strength. Seventy-five *per cent* of their horses were gone, and the remainder were mere walking skeletons. No strength remained in man or beast for putting in an adequate crop. The Friends sent one of their workers down into Tashkent, nearly 2,000 miles away, to purchase a trainload of hay. Realizing that it was impracticable to bring in sufficient quantities of hay, their next move was to purchase fifteen tractors in Warsaw, 1,500 miles away. With these, the Friends' Mission plowed for the peasants who had no horses nor means with which to purchase them. The local government gave the Mission a tract of land three miles long by three-fourths of a mile wide to plow and plant for the use of their orphanages.

The Mission also sent representatives into Turkestan and Siberia to purchase horses for the peasants. By the end of May they had brought in about 1,000

²¹ Quoted by Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

horses; fifteen or sixteen hundred more were brought in within the next year. The bringing of these horses a distance of 1,200 miles over the steppes of Western Asia was no holiday jaunt. On their first trip lasting 55 days they lost 10% of their horses in snowstorms and from glanders. Profiting by experience a veterinarian accompanied them on subsequent trips and the horses were more carefully selected and the loss was considerably less.²² The work of buying the horses was supervised part of the time, by Ilya Tolstoi, grandson of Count Leo. These horses were sold to the peasants at from \$24 to \$27 apiece on an installment basis and payments in kind were accepted.

Heartened by Quaker food and Quaker imported horses, the peasants made a brave effort to sow their fields with rye and wheat furnished by the government. It looked as though the worst was over, but about the middle of June the rains ceased and it got so dry that potatoes planted in the seeding season did not sprout until the autumn rains came.²³ Consequently the Quaker feeding had to continue another year. The feeding ceased in September, 1923, and the work was reorganized on a reconstruction basis. They continued to feed about 9,000 children in orphans' homes, and in April and May (1924) relief was extended to about 10,000 others in their homes.²⁴

In addition to the institutional care of children, the

²² Report of Walter E. Wildman in minutes of American Friends Service Committee, May 22, 1924.

²³ Report of Murray S. Kenworthy.

²⁴ Report of American Friends Service Committee for 1924.

feeding of hundreds of thousands, and their agricultural relief work, the Quakers carried on an extensive medical service in Buzuluk Ooyezd. During the summer of 1922 an epidemic of malaria of a very severe type spread throughout the district. It was what is known as tropical malaria, a form rare in that part of Russia, but the thousands of refugees returning from Turkestan brought with them the mosquito, which is the carrier of the disease. The extreme drought of 1922 made the swamps an ideal breeding place for these mosquitoes. The Friends opened a malaria clinic in Buzuluk under the direction of Mrs. Ethel Christie (English) in October. Mrs. Christie in a report of the work says:

"The patients presented a most pathetic spectacle. Drawn on every sort of conveyance, by horse, cows, camels, or by hand, they arrived at the clinic every day in such numbers as to block the street. A normal number of new patients was 250 on a market day. . . . Some who had no homes and were too sick to move lay on the pavement near the clinic for several days, and were treated where they lay; and some of them had to be fed. The treatments were extraordinarily satisfactory; the majority had no attacks after the first day and none after the third day." ²⁵

The treatment consisted of bisulphate of quinine. An adult patient took one gram of quinine daily for a week, then twice a week for four weeks,—a total of

²⁵ An account of the Malaria Work done in Buzuluk Ooyezd by the Society of Friends. Written for the Malaria Conference held in Moscow in Jan., 1924, by Ethel M. Christie.

15 grams. Because of the scarcity of quinine and the danger of profiteering it was necessary for patients to come to the clinic. As many as 2,000 passed through the Buzuluk clinic in a day. It became necessary to train laborants to make the diagnosis and to administer these treatments in some 50 clinics throughout the Ooyezd in 1924. In some districts as high as 85% of the people were afflicted with some form of malaria.

It is probable that the Friends averted a cholera scourge in Buzuluk Ooyezd in the summer of 1922 as cholera was raging in many parts of Russia. The Mission distributed sufficient serum to treat 100,000 persons and 4,000 were innoculated in Buzuluk town. This district remained practically free from the disease although adjacent districts suffered severely.

Since June, 1923, the work of the Friends has been confined largely to some form of medical or health work. Centers for motherhood and childhood were opened in 26 villages. These centers gave ambulatory care to sick children, consultation care to pregnant women, conducted a nutrition kitchen for children, gave medical inspection to school children, and was a center for education in sanitation.

In connection with the local authorities a plan of child welfare was worked out. Baby consultations with accompanying milk kitchens were opened in Buzuluk town, Sorochinskoye, and Totskoye in 1924. "By March 1, 1925, 1,363 babies and 200 expectant mothers had been registered in the three centers. Eleven thousand seven hundred and fifty-five portions of milk

and 8,047 mixtures were given out in Feb. 1925.”²⁶ Two prenatal clinics with midwife service were opened and midwife service was provided in five other villages.

In February, 1925, over 3,000 were still being treated for malaria but the anti-malaria clinics were being merged with the general clinics. The Friends also had tuberculosis clinics and a sanatorium at Totskoye for tubercular children. In eight villages day camps for tubercular and undernourished children were giving satisfactory results. In two centers winter day camps and two small general hospitals for children were supported. Assistance was given to three Russian doctors to study at medical centers and six nurses were maintained at the Training School for Nurses in Moscow.²⁷

The extension and continuance of the health work was made possible, first by a gift of \$65,000 in money and drugs in April, 1923, from the American Medical Aid for Russia; and second, by the coöperation of the American Women's Hospitals. Since October, 1923, this organization has paid all medical salaries in the Mission and supplemented the salaries of local government doctors and their assistants as well as helping in the maintenance of the various clinics.

All of this work was done in connection with the government Health Department. The Quakers seem to think highly of this branch of the Soviet government. Anna Louise Strong called it a “wonderful or-

²⁶ Report of Work of Anglo-American Society of Friends and the American Women's Hospitals in Russia, May, 1925.

²⁷ Report of E. R. Graff, Director of Medical Work for Society of Friends and American Women's Hospitals, Feb., 1925.

ganization." She said, "The Health Department is non-political and under doctors' control. It has thousands of clinics and substations all over Russia."²⁸ Anna J. Haines, one of the foremost Quaker relief workers, is now working with the National Health Department. After the famine relief work got well started, she returned to America and thoroughly prepared herself in nursing, public health work, and institutional management. She returned to Russia in February, 1925, to help the new Russia build its program of public health.

Perhaps we should not close this chapter without referring to the gratitude of the Russian people toward the Quakers. Of course the situation was very different from what it was in Germany where the Friends' work was nation wide and where there were many means of communication and opportunities for group expression of their thanks. A vast amount of documentary expression of appreciation such as poured out of Germany does not exist, but the reports of workers and a few official expressions testify to the good-will engendered by this work. The work was too limited territorially to make any noticeable impression upon Russian thought, but it demonstrated that the Russian Government and its people crave a higher standard of living and quickly take advantage of modern health facilities. It further demonstrated the willingness and ability of Russia to coöperate with foreign organizations which show by their deeds as well as by their words

²⁸ Report of Anna Louise Strong to American Friends Service Committee, Sept., 1921.



Photographed by Alfred G. Smaltz of the American Friends Relief and Reconstruction Mission to Russia.

*Above Branding a horse with a Quaker star.
Below Horse bazaar, Pertopavlosk, Siberia.*

that they have no ulterior motives, but seek only mutual advantage and promotion of human welfare.

The reports of individual workers contain many references to the verbal expression of thanks of individuals. One English worker wrote: "It is very encouraging to note the effect of our feeding is having on the people. They are beginning to take hope again, and they are overwhelming in their expressions of thanks to the Society of Friends."²⁹

The following expression of appreciation was sent to the American Quaker Unit:

"We, members and workers of the Sorochinskoye Mutual Aid Committee having helped you in this campaign and realizing what a great work you have completed, saving hundreds of thousands of people from starvation, wish to express to you Friends, Quakers, our Great Russian Spassibo.

"Your great deeds will for a long time remain in the memory of our hearts, transmitted from one generation to the next, and our descendants though not knowing you, will thank you for the help given to their ancestors.

"We also beg you to take in our name our heartiest gratitude to the American people whose gifts we have been accepting. We promise that if misfortune befalls the American people, the Russian people will apply all its efforts to give it assistance."³⁰

²⁹ Quoted by Fry, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

³⁰ Extract from letter of thanks dated Aug. 2, 1923; in Russian file, American Friends Service Committee.

CHAPTER XIII

SUMMARY OF EUROPEAN RELIEF ACTIVITIES

We have briefly sketched a decade of Quaker relief work in Europe,—a work begun in France in 1917 and ending in April, 1927, with the closing of the anti-tuberculosis campaign in Austria. Only the most outstanding features of their work in France, Germany, Austria, Poland, and Russia have been touched upon, and the work in Serbia where the American Friends aided the English Friends to the extent of \$105,000 has been omitted entirely.

In this period approximately \$25,200,000 in money and "gifts in kind" were contributed to the American Friends' Service Committee. Of this amount \$12,245,032.40 was in cash and \$12,955,680.82 represents the estimated cash value of supplies contributed by various organizations. These large sums by no means represent the full money value of the service rendered inasmuch as the Quaker workers served without pay as did the twenty-five to thirty-five thousand volunteers who helped to prepare and serve the Quaker food in Germany. Furthermore, the above figures take no account of the fact that the various countries in which the Quakers worked furnished free transportation, free

storage, free rent, free use of telephone and telegraphs, and many other services. To have given the same amount of relief on a strictly commercial basis would have cost two or three times twenty-five million dollars.

In addition to the free service rendered by about 900 American Quakers in Europe, the 100,000 Quakers in the United States gave \$1,858,734.26 in cash besides large amounts of "gifts in kind." The American Relief Administration, the American Red Cross, the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the German Government made the largest donations of "gifts in kind." In 1920-1922 the German Government furnished most of the flour and sugar used in the Quaker child feeding in that country. These two items frequently amounted to fifty *per cent* of the total cost of the feeding.

The American Quakers were in France from September, 1917, to April, 1920. The expenditure of over \$1,000,000 including the building of the Chalons Maternity Hospital gives an inadequate idea of the extent of their material service to the civilian population, because of the large number of Quakers who contributed their services. This number ranged from 66 at the beginning to 347 when the reconstruction of Verdun was in full swing. The Quakers entered intimately into the life of the people and helped them in many ways, but their outstanding services may be summarized as agricultural, medical, and reconstruction of devastated villages.

TABLE I

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE FOR
THE FISCAL YEARS 1917-1926 *

Year	Cash		Gifts in kind
	Friends	Other sources	
1917	\$ 253,265.21	\$ 5,260 36	
1918	483,612.85	27,929.36	
1919	404,287 88	231,698 35	
1920	247,701.74	2,923,344.48	
1921	191,775.66	1,151,561 98	\$2,179,161.00
1922	77,074.00	1,515,002 35	3,156,559.99
1923	51,307.97	536,908 98	252,275.00
1924	60,570.00	3,105,115 41	101,419.00
1925	38,814.56	796,635 39	
1926	56,324 39	92,841.48	
Total	\$1,858,734.26	\$10,386,298.14	\$5,689,414.99

* Figures for columns one and two were furnished by the American Friends' Service Committee. Column three is an estimate based on a graph published by the same committee. These figures do not include "gifts in kind" amounting to about \$7,250,000 delivered to the Service Committee in Europe.

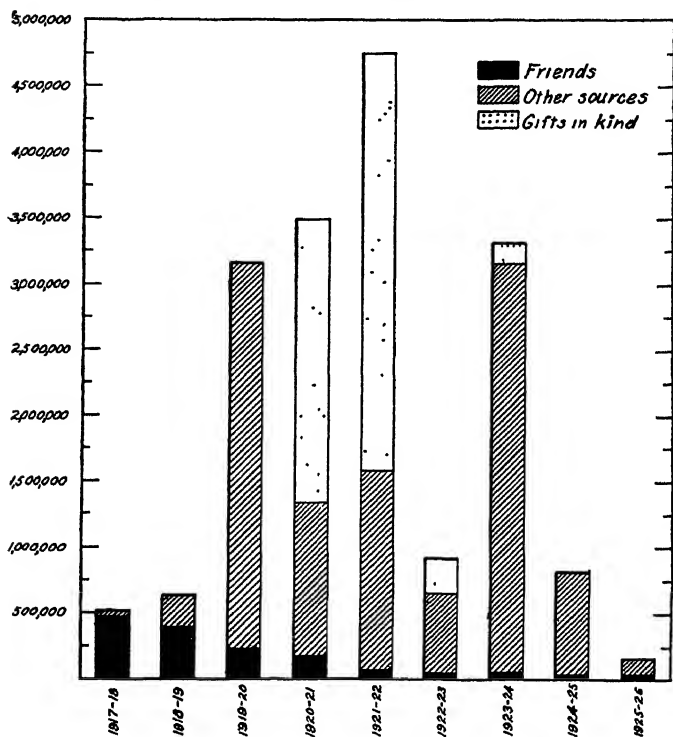
TABLE II

ANNUAL CASH DISBURSEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE
COMMITTEE IN AUSTRIA, FRANCE, GERMANY, POLAND, AND RUSSIA
JUNE 1, 1917, TO MAY 31, 1925

Fiscal year	Austria	France	Germany	Poland	Russia
1918		\$293,122			\$ 35,908
1919		514,871			24,808
1920	\$ 18,881	190,332	\$2,761,624		6,536
1921	109,680		976,533	\$ 33,310	25,609
1922	123,269		434,405	80,903	636,718
1923	36,269	9,204	39,954	44,231	644,524
1924	74,920		2,568,640	21,968	148,904
1925	15,072		892,586	6,854	49,255
Total ...	\$378,086	\$917,529	\$7,673,764	\$187,266	\$1,572,062

CHART I

Contributions to the American Friends Service Committee for the
Period June 1, 1917 to May 31, 1926 *



* Based on numerical data in Table I.

President Ebert of Germany estimated the value of the food and clothing distributed by the Quakers in Germany at \$12,500,000 and the value of Germany's contribution of sugar and flour at \$5,100,000. This is

a higher cash value than the Quakers have ever put on the "gifts in kind." We know that between February, 1920, and June, 1926, the Quakers spent \$7,673,764 in cash in Germany. In 1920-1921 the American Relief Administration delivered to the Quakers in Germany 12,353,778 cans of milk and 18,655,848 pounds of other foods worth at least \$2,000,000. The next year the German Child Feeding Campaign Committee delivered to the Quakers \$1,068,298 worth of food, and the American Relief Administration contributed \$546,875 worth of food. The Friends have never given out a complete itemized valuation of "gifts in kind" distributed in the various countries, but they have made the statement that the value of "gifts in kind" delivered to them in Europe was approximately \$7,500,000. Inasmuch as a large part of this was expended in Germany, it is probable that President Ebert's figures are not far wrong.

The Quakers' work in Germany was confined to supplementary feeding and the distribution of clothing. The American Relief Administration after Jan. 1, 1922, turned over to the Quakers the work of clothing distribution throughout Germany. The first period of the feeding lasted from February, 1920, to June, 1922. They fed as high as 1,010,000 a day, and for months at a time averaged 700,000 a day. The second period of the feeding lasted from January to September, 1924. The number fed reached a maximum of 1,200,000 per day.

The American Quakers began work in Austria in

1919 and completed their program in the spring of 1927. They spent \$378,086 in cash besides \$105,000 in an educational campaign against tuberculosis. "Gifts in kind" have been estimated at \$150,000. The outstanding features of the Quaker work in Austria were their efforts to increase the milk supply, feeding of the aged and children under school age, aid to agricultural settlers, and the campaign against tuberculosis.

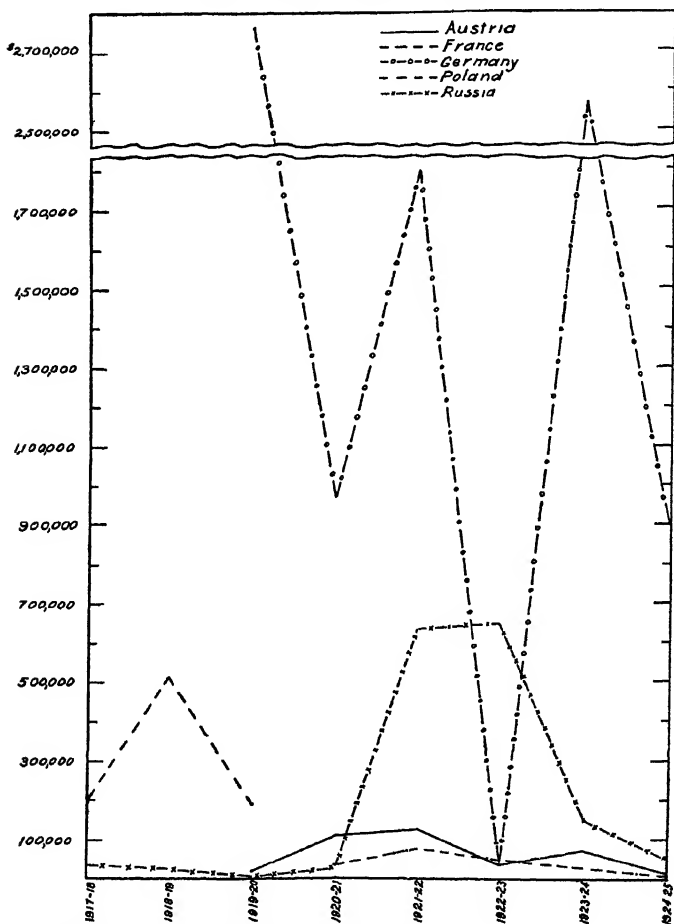
The relief work in Poland centered around the fight on the typhus fever and the rehabilitation of the agricultural population in the Vilno district. The latter task involved the hauling of timber and the sawing of lumber for house building, plowing the land, and the purchase of seeds and agricultural implements. The bulk of this work was done in 1920-1923, although the development of the Kolpin Agricultural College and Orphanage extended over to 1925. The Quakers spent \$187,266 in cash and distributed goods worth \$100,000.

The American Quakers aided the English Quakers in their Russian work from 1917-1921, but not until the famine developed in 1921 did the American Society take equal responsibility with the English Quakers for alleviating conditions in Russia. The American Society spent \$1,572,062 in cash besides distributing hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of "gifts in kind" contributed by other organizations.

The Russian work centered around the feeding of both adults and children; the care of orphans; agricultural aid in the form of seeds, tractors, and horses;

CHART II

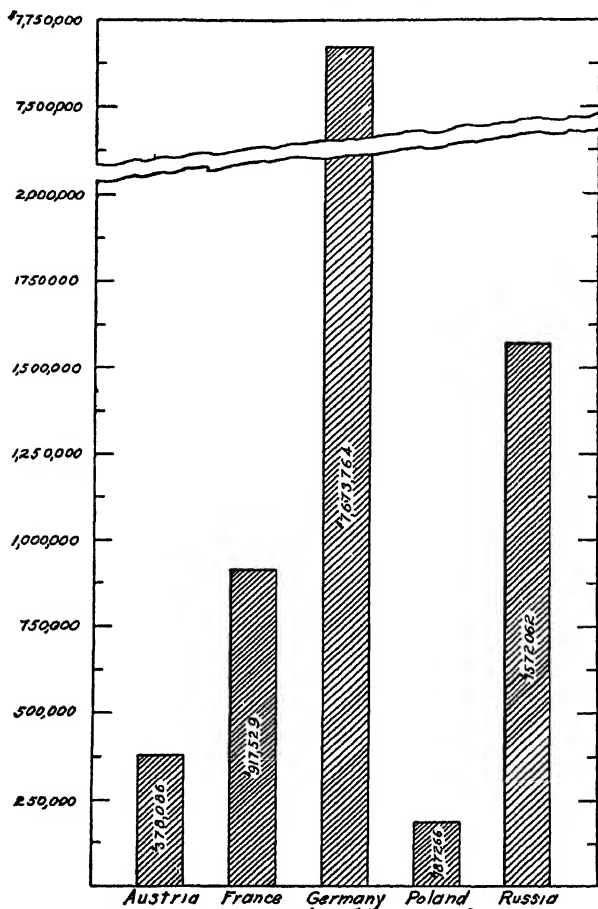
Annual Cash Disbursements of the American Friends Service Committee in Austria, France, Germany, Poland and Russia,
June 1, 1917 to May 31, 1925 *



* Based on numerical data in Table II.

CHART III

Total Cash Disbursements of the American Friends Service Committee in Austria, France, Germany, Poland, and Russia,
June 1, 1917 to May 31, 1925 *



* Based on numerical data in Table II.

and medical work, particularly their fight on malaria and cholera, and the development of health centers after the worst of the famine was over.

The accompanying graphs on pages 160-161 give the annual and the total cash disbursements in the five countries where the Quaker relief work was most extensive. A glance at the charts will show that the largest amounts went to Germany and Russia, but the constructive character of much of the work in the other three countries enabled the Friends to render conspicuous service with a much smaller outlay of money. I refer particularly to the anti-tuberculosis work in Austria, the fight on the typhus in Poland, and the reconstruction of villages in France and Poland. The work in Germany and much of the relief in Russia was, of necessity, confined to feeding operations.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW IMPETUS TO HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES AT HOME

The World War caught the American Quakers in a somnolent condition. It had been fifty years since they had suffered anything for their peace principles. Belonging largely to the upper middle class with a considerable sprinkling of the rich among their numbers especially in the East, they were affected only indirectly by the problems of our social order. Educated, cultured, moral, they were "at ease in Zion." They were proud of a peace tradition, the implications of which they had not thought through nor tested by experience. They were proud of their opposition to slavery without realizing that new forms of slavery were springing up about them. They were becoming narrow and self-centered; the Inner Light was in danger of being hidden under a bushel basket of institutionalism, or smothered by the dry rot of inaction. This is, of course, a general statement of conditions to which there were many brilliant individual exceptions, but even these received a new vision and had their consciences quickened by the war.

These leaders felt and comprehended two things as

they had never done before. (1) They came to realize that a negative protest against war such as they had been content with in the past was merely "locking the stable door after the horse had been stolen." It was a futile gesture. It neither stopped nor prevented war. In the second place they saw clearly now that the causes of war are imbedded in our social order, consequently they have set themselves to the task of dislodging as many of those causes as possible. Both emotionally and intellectually the war was a vitalizing influence in the lives of the Quakers. This desire to make their protest constructive and positive has aroused in them an ardor and an enthusiasm which eight years of peace has not quenched and is responsible for such undertakings as the work of the Social Order Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox); the rejuvenated Peace Committee of the same organization; the reorganized American Friends' Service Committee with its divisions touching the vital points of friction and misunderstanding in our social relations; and the Minorities' Conferences in Europe.

Numbers of Quakers told the writer how their agonizing over the débâcle of war brought them, at last, to see what were the implications of their anti-war stand. Never again can these highly sensitive, earnest Christian leaders remain passive while economic, racial, and political maladjustments inflame the passions of nations. They know now that if we would build a warless world we must, in times of peace, prepare for peace.

Nowhere is this idea more clearly stated than in a communication of twenty-four Quakers to their yearly meeting requesting the appointment of a committee to study our industrial and social order. The communication, in part, reads as follows: "The war in Europe has laid bare the fact that twentieth century civilization falls far below the standard of Christ in industrial and national as well as in international life. We have discovered the seeds of war in our social order. If love can and should be trusted to the uttermost and made the ruling discipline of action in international affairs it follows that it can and should be made supreme in social and industrial life." ¹

In the course of a paper read before the Social Order Committee Agnes L. Tierney made a statement which illustrates specifically how the World War aroused the Quakers to deficiencies in our social order. She said, "For three years we have been conscious day and night of the horror and agony men are facing in the battle lines of Europe. But the dull monotony of toil for a wage insufficient to insure a decent life, which is the lot of millions in times of peace, should fill us with equal horror." ²

This new awakening to social responsibility caused the Social Order Committee in its report to the Yearly Meeting to criticize their past (The Society of Friends) as follows: "In their relations with others they were generally kindly and helpful, and in public benevolence

¹ Minutes of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, May 30, 1917.

² Minutes of the Social Order Committee, May 8, 1917.

they were often the leaders. But, in general, they followed the tradition which John Dewey says fostered the tendency to locate morals in personal relations rather than in the control of social situations.

“With a notable exception in the matter of slavery and some efforts toward other reforms, our society has accepted the world order as it has developed seemingly unconscious of any sense of responsibility for the crushing burdens of poverty, ignorance, and disease to which that order has condemned so large a proportion of our fellows.”³

In the eight years that have elapsed since the above report was penned the Quakers have shown that whatever may have been true in the past they do not intend now or in the future passively to accept the world order at those points where it conflicts with Quaker principles. In other words, they have universalized their principles and are applying them to the whole social order in their thinking on social questions.

³ Minutes of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1918), pp. 80-81.

CHAPTER XV

THE SOCIAL ORDER COMMITTEE

The communication from a group of twenty-four Friends referred to in the preceding chapter was favorably received and a committee of fourteen was selected to propose ways and means for a study of the social and industrial order. The following persons composed the committee: Henry H. Albertson, Samuel L. Allen, J. Harvey Borton, Henry T. Brown, Anna C. Evans, Edward W. Evans, Anna J. Haines, Morris E. Leeds, Hannah Cadbury Pyle, Agnes Garrett Walton, Bernard G. Walton, William F. Wisckersham.

At a meeting held April 24, 1917, at the Arch Street Center the committee decided that its title should be, "The Social Order Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends." The meetings that spring were confined to papers making suggestions as to what the Committee might profitably study. They asked themselves some very searching questions on the voluntary limitations of wealth; the relation of large bequests to luxury and vice; the relation of wealth to philanthropy; and finally Henry T. Brown propounded a series of queries on capitalism. "Does the capitalistic system breed materialism in both rich and poor and

tend to crush out all spiritual forces? Is capitalism largely responsible for war and the militaristic system? Does it breed class hatred which if intensified will disrupt society? Does it foster international rivalry and ill feeling and often use the machinery of the State to promote its own selfish interests? Can the capitalistic system be stripped of its abuses by a process of democratization and made to serve a beneficent purpose in the social order consistent with the spirit of Christianity?"¹

The Committee did not meet again during the summer months, but in a two day session, on October 13th and 14th, it was decided to organize four development groups: Business Problems Group, Farmers' Group, Simplification Group, and Investment Group. Each of these was to work independently but was to keep the Social Order Committee informed as to its progress.² After a year or so several changes were made in groupings. The Simplification Group which aimed at getting back to greater simplicity of living never reported any definite findings and a new women's section was formed called the Household Problems Group. This became The Women's Problems Group in 1919. The Investment Group later became the Property Group and a new section, an Educators' Group composed of teachers, was affiliated with the general committee.

After nearly a year of study the following was writ-

¹ Minutes of Social Order Committee, June 5, 1917.

² See *ibid.*, October 13 and 14, 1917.

ten into the minutes of the Social Order Committee on February 11, 1918. "The committee further commends to the consideration of members of the Yearly Meeting the following steps toward a partial realization of these ideals:

"1. A sympathetic study of the condition of labor and the causes of poverty, with a desire on the part of employers of labor, whether in office, industry, or household, to learn whether the lives of their employees be only a monotonous struggle for existence or whether their income and circumstances be such as to afford healthful recreation and adequate means for mental and spiritual development.

"2. Investigation of schemes for democratization of industry, for the replacement of competition by co-operation, and of all methods by which an equitable distribution of the products of industry may be achieved.

"3. The making of investments in the spirit of service rather than of self interest, investigation as far as possible of the industrial conditions lying back of securities and favoring those investments that have a social motive even if returning a low rate of interest.

"4. A re-examination of the Quaker testimony for simplicity in the light of modern conditions. This may involve, for some, the voluntary renunciation of the acquisition of wealth in the interest of brotherhood; for others, the application of surplus to remedial rather than to ameliorative measures for social adjustment;

and for all, an avoidance of expenditures which may give rise to envy or unworthy emulation.

"5. The daily practice toward all of that sympathy and good-will which is more than mere indiscriminate kindness, involving as it often will, risks to personal security and ease that can be taken only in the spirit of faith and love."

Although these five points are commended to the study of the general membership, points 2, 3, and 4 were being seriously studied by specific groups, namely, Business Problems, Investments, and Women's Problem Group, and considerable progress has been made by a few, in putting them into practice. A brief survey of the activities of each of these groups will bring out the seriousness with which they attacked concrete problems.

WOMEN'S PROBLEMS GROUP

This group has averaged about 250 members. They have covered a considerable range of topics in their discussions, but the emphasis has been on the securing of better treatment for women in domestic service; their responsibility, as consumers of goods, for the condition under which they were made; and on the training of children.

THE FARMERS' GROUP

This group was quite active just following the war in New Jersey, Delaware, and Eastern Pennsylvania. A survey was made of the housing and general welfare

of tenant farmers which resulted in the improvement of houses for tenants. The coming of a period of agricultural depression brought the work of the group to a close. It is hoped to get the group interested in co-operative marketing.³

THE EDUCATORS' GROUP

This group feels that the school can be made an important factor in the improvement of our social order. For a number of years this group had been studying what materials should be used and how they should be presented "to develop in the pupils the knowledge and qualities of mind and heart which are needed in dealing wisely with social problems."⁴

They have prepared a book which is being tried out in Friends' schools. The aim of the book is to develop ability to search for truth without prejudice; to develop the spirit of brotherhood toward others in all walks of life, regardless of the differences of wealth, station, class, nationality, or race; and to stress the service motive as over against the profits motive.

The significance of this effort is not in the numbers reached, nor in any direct effect on social reform, but in emphasizing the power which society possesses to determine the goals and the gods of the coming generation through the agencies that fix its ideals.

³ From a statement by Edith C. Moon, Secretary of the Social Order Committee.

⁴ Ibid.

THE PROPERTY GROUP

This group has been concerned particularly with the institution of private property. It was at first called the Investment Group, and, as such, the members discussed the ethics of holding stock in corporations whose products or policies might be questionable. The general feeling was that invested capital should be content with a moderate return, due consideration being given for the risk involved, and that corporations should be carefully scrutinized as to purpose, policies, and methods before buying stock in them. This group now has a small sub-committee working on a set of pertinent questions concerning corporations to be asked by prospective investors.

When the name was changed to the Property Group the members turned their attention more directly to the question of how "to accomplish a redistribution of property held for power so that it may become for all men as far as may be, in reasonable manner, property for use."⁵ This led to a discussion of rent, interest, and the Coöperative Movement, but no conclusions were reached.

For the last two years, however, the group has been studying the question of the control of the railroads. They saw in the railroads a great mass of property, whose use directly affects the general welfare, being used as "property for power." They worked out a plan

⁵ From a statement of the Group on "Pressing Problems," Feb. 11, 1919.

which calls for private operation of the railroads, consolidated into a few big systems, under government ownership. They have attempted in their plan to make the service motive dominant by providing that "the operating corporation should pay rentals sufficient to meet the interest on the government bonds issued for the purchase of the roads, and to provide a sinking fund for the retirement of the bonds."⁶

The plan attempts to stimulate efficiency by providing "that if any operating company should have a surplus remaining after payment of rental, operating expenses (including suitable compensation to the operating forces), and provision for depreciation and suitable reserves, such surplus should be apportioned as follows: one-half should go as additional compensation to the operating forces,⁷ to be divided between them *pro rata* in some equitable manner; the other one-half should be paid to the treasury of the National Railway Board. A portion of the one-half paid into the National Railway Board should be retained by it to build up a reserve fund, and the balance should go to the United States Government."⁸ The report also suggested that "some provision should be made for the reduction of rates in the event that the surplus should go beyond a given point."

This plan may or may not have merit. Its signifi-

⁶ Report of Property Group of the Social Order Committee on the Future of the Railroads.

⁷ Note: Operating forces include official and classified employees. The National Railway Board is a creation of the plan.

⁸ *Ibid.*

cance for this study lies in the fact that a group of laymen impelled by a religious motive and without any ax to grind have given long and serious study to an economic question which has far-reaching social implications.

BUSINESS PROBLEMS GROUP

This is the ninth year for this active and capable group affiliated with the Social Order Committee. Stimulated by the war, as we brought out in the preceding chapter, this group of from 75 to 125 of Philadelphia's leading Quaker business men have open-mindedly attacked the problem of putting more brotherhood into business.

They have studied in successive years, beginning in 1918-1919, industrial relations, democratic control of business, unemployment insurance, employees' participation in management and profits, and for the last two years managerial profit-sharing. They have listened to economists, to labor leaders, to specialists, and to business men who have experimented with new policies.

Inasmuch as some of them own controlling interests in the corporations with which they are connected, members of this group have been able to show more practical results from their meetings than any of the other groups. Two of the men who have tried to put some of their ideas into practice are Morris E. Leeds and Henry Tatnall Brown.

During 1921-1922 the group studied unemployment

insurance and on Jan. 1, 1923, the Leeds and Northrup Co. established an Unemployment Fund. "We started this plan," said Mr. Leeds, "very largely as a result of the consideration of the subject in this group and the report made by the special committee on Unemployment Insurance."⁹

This firm is engaged in making scientific instruments and has a specially skilled class of employees. Experience has shown that layoffs were necessary in times of depression and that it was difficult for these men to find satisfactory jobs elsewhere. Hence a plan of unemployment insurance was worked out that seems to meet the needs of this class of employees.¹⁰

1. The company deposited each week with a German-town Trust Company an amount not exceeding two *per cent* of its total weekly payroll until such payments, with the interest accumulations, equaled twice the maximum weekly payroll in the preceding twelve months. As soon as payments reduce this fund to a figure less than twice the maximum weekly payroll for the then preceding twelve months, payments are begun again.

2. Employees whose annual compensation is less than \$2,600 are eligible to benefits from the Fund for periods of time varying with the length of their continuous service with the company.

⁹ Minutes of Business Problems Group, June 2, 1924.

¹⁰ This summary of the plan was taken from a booklet, put out by the company, entitled Unemployment Benefit Fund.

Length of Service	Weeks of Compensation
3 months	3
1 year	5
2 years	10
3 years	15
4 years	20
5 years and over	26

Payments from this Fund to employees laid off shall be: (1) to employees with dependents 75% and (2) to employees without dependents 50% of their wages or salary for the normal working week—44 hours at present.

Another leading spirit in the Business Problems Group who inspired others and was himself stimulated by the group is Henry Tatnall Brown, a manufacturer of folding paper boxes. He inherited the business from his father, and as a young man held rather feudalistic notions concerning it; that is, he regarded the factory as their family castle and the workers as their retainers. "As the years went by, however, a more liberal spirit," he says, "crept into our industrial relations and the Business Problems Group was formed and their meetings and discussions helped to give us a very definite stimulus toward a more enlightened treatment of those who work for us. We began more and more to be able to see industrial matters with the eyes of the worker and to understand something of the thoughts that he is thinking."¹¹

Mr. Brown is a man who puts his convictions into action. He invited Ordway Tead to visit his plant as a

¹¹ Minutes of Business Problems Group, June 2, 1924.

representative of the Bureau of Industrial Relations. In an informal talk to the Business Problems Group Mr. Brown said: "We felt that we had done a great deal along the lines which he doubtless would approve, that our general conditions were good, and that we were treating our employees fairly. You can imagine that we were surprised and somewhat humiliated to receive a nineteen page report on the various unchristian and undesirable things that existed in our organization. In a very chastened spirit we set about righting the wrongs he had noted, and we have by now acted on nearly all of his suggestions."¹² Dingy walls were painted white, the lighting system was improved, a cleaning department established, toilet and rest room facilities were improved, minimum wages were increased, and a personnel manager employed.

Mr. Brown now pays a minimum of \$14 a week. This is 25% more than similar workers get in that part of the city. He says it isn't enough, but it is all that they can pay, and get their share of the business, until they can find new ways of lowering production costs. Labor turnover in this factory is very low (less than 10% a year) and discharges are rare. During 1921-1923 the average was seven a year. There were none during the first half of 1924.¹³

These accomplishments are in no sense new or startling. Other employers have gone as far apparently for purely business reasons. Any employer would be willing to increase wages 25% if this would result in

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Personal interview.

an increase of even 5% in profits, but to increase wages under conditions which leaves profits stationary requires some motive other than the profit motive. The Quakers find this other motive in their religion. Henry T. Brown expressed their position when he said:

"Boards of arbitration, industrial courts, shop committees and all the other man-made machinery for the prevention and settlement of industrial conflicts have their place in affording opportunity for management and men to get together around a council table, but they all break down in the absence of the spirit of Him who said: 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them!'"¹⁴

The Quakers believe that this spirit is fundamental to lasting good-will in industry. They do not believe that "enlightened self-interest" is sufficient to produce the maximum of industrial peace and progress. This issue was squarely drawn at one of the monthly meetings of the Business Problems Group. George E. MacIlwain, secretary of the President's Special Employers' Commission to England in 1919, had been the speaker of the evening. In the discussion that followed he was asked if he did not think it was worth while to apply the Golden Rule; for example, to your business from the standpoint of knowing that you are doing the right and Christian thing toward your employees, quite aside from the question of profits. Mr. MacIlwain replied: "It is, if you can afford to do it,—I mean if you have a business where there is enough slack to enable

¹⁴ Human Relationships in Industry, Pennsbury leaflet, No. 24.

you to play with frills of various kinds. If you are in a business where competition is keen there isn't usually much slack left. It doesn't matter how high your principles and motives are, a business can't exist if it doesn't pay its way, and then everybody is worse off."

Henry T. Brown then raised this question: "Isn't it true, though, that the application of right principles in business will bring out a latent productive power in the worker and so increase production? In the long run that (the increased production) will make more to divide, the worker himself will benefit, and the slack that you speak of may actually be created if it did not previously exist."

In his reply Mr. MacIlwain fell back on Adam Smith's "enlightened self-interest" theory. He said, "My contention is that a plain, straightway, successful business man will have sense enough to see the way in which business efficiency lies, and that he will do for business reasons and from a business standpoint the things that will produce the results you mention, Christianity quite apart from the matter."¹⁵

It should be admitted that very few Quaker business men have gone farther than Mr. MacIlwain's "plain, straightway, successful business man," but these few have a vision of a day when the profits motive will be moderated by the desire to promote human welfare.

¹⁵ Minutes of the Business Problems Group, Mar. 11, 1925.

CHAPTER XVI

THE REORGANIZED AMERICAN FRIENDS' SERVICE COMMITTEE

For seven years all branches of the Society of Friends in the United States had coöperated in War and Post-War relief. This was a new experience to Friends accustomed as they were to a large measure of local autonomy. The coöperation had proved so valuable, however, that leaders of all branches felt that the organization should be perpetuated to carry on certain peace and other constructive activities of fundamental interest to all branches of the Society. Consequently in 1924 the Committee was divided into four sections. These groups and their chairmen (1926) are: Foreign Service, William Eves; Home Service, J. Barnard Walton; Peace, Henry Tatnall Brown; Inter-racial, Raymond T. Bye.

The aim of each of these sections is, in its own sphere, "to cultivate such a spirit of friendship, goodwill, and understanding between races and nations as will make the recurrence of such conditions as existed during these past years impossible."¹

¹ Report of American Friends' Service Committee, May 31, 1926.

FOREIGN SERVICE SECTION

All the work of this section of the Service Committee is carried on jointly with the Council for International Service representing the English Quakers. During the past year Good-will Centers have been maintained in Berlin, Geneva, Paris, Vienna, and Warsaw. In addition to these centers, the American Quakers have had representatives in Russia, Albania, Bulgaria, China, and Mexico.

These special representatives, such as Annie P. Carlyle in Mexico, endeavor to counteract misleading propaganda of special interests and to secure the publication in both countries of constructive articles making for peace and good-will. The American Friends' Service Committee feel that their work in Mexico should be expanded but so far have failed to secure additional persons who were properly qualified.²

The work of another special representative during 1925-1926 is rather unique. The Service Committee was aroused by the anti-christian and anti-foreign feeling brought to light by the Shanghai riots in May, 1925. A Chinese leader told the Committee that the so-called Christian nations were "emphasizing Gun-Rule instead of the Golden Rule" and that the Orientals were turning away from Christianity. The Service Committee selected Lloyd Balderston, an educator and former resident of the Far East, to go to China to de-

² Personal interview with Wilbur K. Thomas, Executive Secretary of American Friends' Service Committee.

termine what Friends could do to show their friendship for the Chinese people.

After interviewing a wide variety of people both native and foreign in many walks of life, Balderston returned to America and recommended that, "Friends give a practical demonstration of Christian service by sponsoring a plan for a Friendship Village for working people in the congested industrial district of the various port cities."³

The most important work of the Foreign Section is the good-will centers. As we have noted, the one at Paris has been instrumental in securing reform of the women's prisons in Paris and in bringing several small peace societies into coöperation. The centers at Berlin and Warsaw engineered the conferences on the German-Polish minorities. The Geneva Center is of course strategically located.

All of these centers render valuable aid by introducing travelers to people and organizations interested in better international relations, and by forwarding news on questions of international interest in America and England for publication in the daily newspapers of the country in which they are situated.

HOME SERVICE SECTION

This phase of the work was a "going concern" before the reorganization of the Service Committee. The feeding of the children of the West Virginia miners in 1923 technically came under the province of this

³ Report of American Friends' Service Committee. May 31, 1926.



Photographed by Wm. Brees 3rd, Chief of the German Child Feeding Mission

Above Feeding of expectant mothers. Leipzig, 1920.

Below Feeding station for mothers in a park. Leipzig, 1920.

group. The main objective of this section since 1923 has been to get young people just out of college to give one year to some form of social service. They hope in this way to develop a few leaders in every Quaker community who will possess more social vision, larger tolerance, and a greater sense of social responsibility. This work is growing rapidly under the capable guidance of Margaret E. Jones. In 1923 her report showed that she had placed thirteen young people in some form of social work, the next year she reported twenty-one, and in 1925-1926 there were thirty-one who volunteered to give a year's time. Many more would have done so had it not been for financial obligations. These young people have been placed by Miss Jones with social settlements, Indian schools, industrial schools, reformatories, and southern white colleges.

INTER-RACIAL SECTION

This phase of the work is challenging an increasing number of the Quakers. The task, however, is so impossible of complete and final solution and the prejudices involved are so vast that the committee is under the necessity of moving slowly along educational lines.

Some attention has been given to the interests of Indians, Mexicans, and Japanese in the United States, but, for the most part, the committee has devoted itself to the causes of friction between the Negro and the White race.

The work of this section is considered more fully in the chapter on Inter-Racial Activities.

PEACE SECTION

This section is moving slowly, but it has a very ambitious program and may develop into the most powerful division of the Service Committee. Speaking of the Peace Section in his 1926 report, Wilbur K. Thomas ⁴ says: "It expects to focus attention, not only of the Peace Committees in the various Yearly Meetings, but also that of other religious denominations upon the menace of militarism, and the way out. Through public meetings, speakers' bureau, literature, etc., this department expects to give expression to its interpretation of the message of Jesus on the question of peace between peoples and nations."

The three main lines of endeavor during the past year have been (1) support of the World Court and the League of Nations; (2) opposition to military training in our schools and colleges; and (3) the beginning of systematic efforts to vitalize the thinking of their own constituency concerning Quaker peace principles.

In carrying out of the second point, 9,000 copies of Winthrop D. Lane's pamphlet of "Military Training in the Schools and Colleges of the United States" were distributed; and much of the time of a full time speaker at conventions, conferences and other meetings was given to this question. In the furtherance of the third point, 18,000 copies of Wilbur K. Thomas' "The

⁴ He is executive secretary of the American Friends' Service Committee.

Biblical Basis for Friends' Opposition to War," were distributed. The Service Committee has also put out a "Study Course: Military Training in our Schools and Colleges." This brief course is admirably suited to provoke discussion on the second point and cause young people to come to definite conclusions regarding war.

Only a beginning has been made, but this beginning is so much more specific and constructive than the haphazard activities and vague generalities of most of the Peace Committees of the Yearly Meetings that the coming generation of Quakers may take a leading part in the war on war.

CHAPTER XVII

RELIEF ACTIVITIES AMONG THE MINERS

For years the coal mine operators in West Virginia had succeeded in preventing the unionization of their mines. When a period of economic depression began in 1920 many of the unionized mines were closed down as they could not compete with the non-union mines which had reduced wages below union scale. The Central Competitive Field (Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania) was also affected by the competition from the non-union coal fields in West Virginia and Kentucky. Ninety *per cent* of West Virginia's coal is shipped through the Central Competitive Field.

Inasmuch as the Central Competitive Field is largely unionized, the operators in this field were at least sympathetic with, if they did not actually aid, the United Mine Workers in their efforts to unionize the field. Feeling that the life of the union was at stake, the United Mine Workers made a desperate effort to unionize the field and succeeded in unionizing 53,000 out of 88,000 miners in West Virginia. The non-union operators claimed that it was done by intimidation and murder.

The operators did not meekly submit to the unioni-

zation of their workers. They paid the salaries of hundreds of deputy sheriffs whose main job was to terrorize union men and keep out union organizers. The miners were evicted from the company houses and prevented from holding meetings. Pressure from the operators prevented relief being given by welfare agencies of the community, so that the miners' families living in tent colonies suffered from inadequate clothing, bad sanitation and lack of medical care.

In the spring of 1922 in response to several appeals for emergency relief, the American Friends' Service Committee sent Walter H. Abel, editor of the *Friends' Intelligencer*, and Drew Pearson, an instructor in Economics at the University of Pennsylvania, to visit the West Virginia coal fields. They spent a week interviewing all parties and inspecting the mining camps.

They found about 28,000 families dependent upon charity. Contrary to the general supposition in the North that the greatest suffering was among the non-union workers in Logan and Mingo Counties, they found that the neediest groups were in the union areas where unemployment had prevailed, (1) around Charleston in Kanawha County; (2) around Beckley in Raleigh and Fayette Counties, and (3) around Grafton in Taylor County. These miners had been out of work for periods ranging from six to sixteen months. The relief organizations which had helped them were for one reason or another giving very inadequate help, so that undernourishment was increasing.

It was the inability or indisposition of these organi-

zations to provide the necessary food and clothing for the children that induced the Quakers to enter this field of relief. Abel and Pearson reported that the miners had received some help from the following sources:

1. **THE UNION STRIKE DUES.**—This fund, due to the long continuance of the strike, was nearly exhausted and the union officials were able to help only the most destitute cases.

2. **MINERS' RELIEF FUND.**—This was an unofficial organization which grew out of a Christmas fund raised by the editor of a Charleston, West Virginia, labor paper for the benefit of the children in the tent colonies in Mingo County. For several months \$400 to \$500 a week were given to this fund, but gradually these amounts decreased. In a statement dated April 5, 1922, the treasurer of this fund said: "During the past two weeks we have been able to respond to only about 10% of the calls made upon us owing to the utter lack of funds. We have a greater number of appeals for help each day, and the funds are coming in slower and in lesser proportions each day."

3. **WEST VIRGINIA MINERS' RELIEF COMMITTEE.**—This was an unofficial but definitely partisan group which was interested in sending relief to the miners. It had the backing of the archbishop of Baltimore, the rabbi of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, the rector of Old St. Paul's Cathedral, and several labor leaders. Up to April first it had raised about \$2,500 which was distributed directly through the local unions.

4. THE RED CROSS.—The Red Cross as well as some other local charity organizations formulated plans for miners' relief but soon took a definitely partisan stand on the side of the operators, and withdrew from the field entirely. District Red Cross officials stated their grounds as follows: "The miners could have worked if they would have accepted the 1917 scale, and the other conditions offered by operators. Since they refused to accept work which was offered them, to feed them through public charity would be to encourage them in idleness. Relief work is inadvisable except in the case of a selected list of widows and other cases not directly involved in the industrial struggle." ¹

"The miners," continues the report of Abel and Pearson, "are particularly resentful because of the Red Cross stand, because of the fact that they themselves contributed largely to its funds when they had work. The Red Cross officials said that they were now giving up relief even to their approved list because they had no more funds."

This was evidently only an excuse in view of the statement from the district officials, and it was clear that very little help was forthcoming from any source within the state to prevent excessive stunting of hundreds of children. It was into such a situation that the American Friends' Service Committee felt constrained to go. The following extract from a letter sent the mine

¹ Report of Abel and Pearson to the American Friends' Service Committee.

operators by the American Friends' Service Committee sets forth the motive of the Quakers: "The same principle which guided us in carrying relief to German and Russian children impels us to enter this new field; namely, that Christians cannot sit by and see children stunted in mind and body on account of the differences of opinion that exists between nations or between social groups. For a period of 250 years the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) have held that love and good-will, not war and hatred, will bring about better world conditions."

A quotation from the correspondence between Wilbur K. Thomas, executive secretary of the American Friends' Service Committee, and John Barton Payne, Chairman of Executive Officers of the American Red Cross, explains the Quaker position more fully than the above statement and also shows that the national headquarters of the American Red Cross took a very different attitude from that of the district officials. In his letter to Mr. Payne, Dr. Thomas explained what the Friends proposed to do and stated their position as follows:

"Economic strife does not justify the starving of innocent peoples. No civil or industrial warfare should ever be allowed to progress to the point where the lives of little children are at stake or where there is a possibility that they may be dwarfed in body for the years to come. While the officials of both sides of the controversy are coming to an agreement, we purpose to see that the little ones are helped to such an extent that they may develop into normal men and women, and thus become a real asset to society. The

RELIEF ACTIVITIES AMONG THE MINERS 191

work is being undertaken, therefore, with the desire to bring a message of good-will to these people in their time of need. . . . I believe you are well aware that we are not partisans or taking sides with the strikers, although such a conclusion will be drawn by many people. We are just as ready to help any who are in need as we are the families of the striking miners. Our sole interest is, if possible, to temper ill feeling and ill will to such an extent that violence will not break out and, if possible, bring our people in general to look upon these controversies as subjects for the council table rather than to be settled by violence and strife."

To this letter Mr. Payne replied on July 1, 1922, as follows:

My dear Mr. Thomas:

I am glad indeed to have your kind letter of the 29th with reference to the relief work among the families in the mining district. I think you are entirely right, and your proposed action meets my hearty approval.

Service to humanity is the watchword, and this does not involve taking sides in a controversy but does involve service to those who need service. If we can be of help to you please advise.

Cordially yours,

JOHN BARTON PAYNE.

Early in July the Quakers began relief work in West Virginia and Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania workers were Edward Evans, Herbert Bowles and Lawrence Dale both Earlham College students, and Freda Burkle, a dietitian who had been in charge of menu planning for mass child feeding in Germany. The West Virginia personnel consisted of Professor Philip Fur-

nas, assisted by Cyril Harvey of Earlham College, Luella Jones of the University of Iowa, and Lucile Ralston, a dietitian.

The children were examined at the various camps by local doctors and the Friends established public feeding stations for children who were seven *per cent* or more underweight. The situation was considerably improved when the feeding began in July over what it was when the preliminary survey was made, as many of the miners had planted gardens and also were receiving weekly rations of beans, sugar, coffee, and pork or lard from the United Mine Workers.

Even with this help, however, the union rations lacked cereals, fruits or vegetables with the mineral salts and were insufficient in quantity for large families. Consequently the Quakers arranged to provide a supplementary meal for the neediest children. The number fed at one time never went beyond 750. As an illustration of the extent of the need in one of the worst fields the Broad Top region in Pennsylvania has been selected.

Center	Number examined	7% or more underweight	Number fed
Coaldale	165	92	57
Dudley	151	85	44
Robertsdale	195	51	51
Woodvale	83	22	21
Finleyville	64	43	35
Total	658	293	208

The mines re-opened in September and feeding was no longer necessary as the men were permitted to buy

groceries at the company stores on credit. Credit was not extended for the purchase of clothing, and as practically everybody was already indebted to the company stores which deducted these charges from the pay check, some of the men had no cash income until Christmas time. The Friends gave assistance in the form of clothing and general welfare work until the middle of February, 1923.

The Quaker relief work did not affect the industrial situation, but it did bring about a better understanding between the miners and the local public. The Friends coöperated with local health and educational agencies, the State Department of Health and Education, state anti-tuberculosis agencies, local hospitals, juvenile courts, the W. C. T. U., and local doctors and nurses. The Friends feel that this was their greatest service. They performed, it seems to me, an even greater service in calling our attention rather forcibly to the idea that society should not permit innocent children to become the victims of contending industrial forces.

CHAPTER XVIII

INTER-RACIAL ACTIVITIES

The Quakers have two dominant purposes in their inter-racial work, (1) to prevent the exploitation of any race in this country, and, (2) to develop good-will and mutual understanding. The first of these purposes explains their interest in Indian affairs, the second explains their protest against Japanese exclusion, and both purposes are operative in the Quaker approach to the question of the relation of white to black folk in the United States.

FRIENDS AND THE INDIANS

Outside of religious work, the Quakers' interest in the Indians in recent years has been expressed through organizations which do not belong officially to the Society of Friends. For example, the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples was founded and financed by a Quaker, Albert K. Smiley, a member of the board of Indian Commissioners. The first of these conferences was held in 1883 and was called the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians. It was not until 1904 that the conference broadened its scope to take in the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Hawaii.

Mr. Smiley's plan was to invite influential editors, ministers, statesmen, superintendents of Indian schools, Indian agents, missionaries, and others direct from the field to hold a three days' conference at Lake Mohonk. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs nearly always attended. The recommendations of the conference were instrumental in bringing about reforms in the Indian Service. After Albert K. Smiley's death the work was carried on by his brother, Daniel, until it was discontinued in 1916.¹

The only important organization interested in the welfare of the Indian at present with which the Friends are connected is the Indians Rights Association located in Philadelphia.² About one-third of its board of directors are Friends, and Samuel M. Brosius, a Friend, has been, for many years, the agent of the Association at Washington, D. C.

The following statement, from a pamphlet entitled *The Indian Question*, put out by the Association, is a good summary of the Association's work: "For forty-three years it has been engaged in protecting Indian property from public and private rapacity, endeavoring to stamp out abuses, advocating helpful legislation, promoting Indian education, and aiding in raising the

¹ A letter from Henry G. Miner, secretary to Mr. Smiley, states that Mr. Smiley hopes to renew this work soon.

² Kelsey W. Raynor in his books on *Friends and the Indians* (1917), calls attention to the work of the Northern California Indian Association with which Friends have been actively connected. This association succeeded in getting the government to purchase land for the landless Indians of California.

standards of the Indian service. It is not too much to say that so far as our duty to the Indian is concerned, the conscience of the American people has expressed itself most effectively through this Association."

Illustrative of the recent activities of the Association was their championship of the Act of June 5, 1924, by which all Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States were granted citizenship. This was the climax to their efforts to secure citizenship to the Indian begun in 1887 when the Association drafted and helped to secure the passage of the Land in Severalty Bill by which an Indian could secure an individual title to his land, and also acquire citizenship.

After twenty-five years of effort to secure an adequate water supply for irrigating the land of the Pima Indians in Arizona, the Association was gratified by the passage of the Act of June 7, 1924, authorizing the San Carlos Reservoir.

The Association has constantly been on the watch to defend individuals and groups of Indians from exploitation. Their outstanding recent achievement was to secure the reversal in 1924 of a ruling of former Secretary A. B. Fall which put in jeopardy the Indian title to 22,000,000 acres of land valued at \$75,000,000.³

Probably the most flagrant type of exploitation which the Association has not yet succeeded in preventing is the result of a law passed in 1908 transferring the probating of estates from the Department

³ See pamphlet, *What Shall We Do with Our Indians?* published by Indian Rights Association, March 5, 1925.

of the Interior to the Oklahoma County Courts. "This enabled county judges to declare any wealthy Indian incompetent to manage his affairs. Some politician would be appointed "guardian" and usually would proceed to make as much money out of the Indian's estate as he could. . . . It is estimated that there are 4,000 professional guardians in Oklahoma, some of whom administer as many as five estates, and that not one Indian in ten escapes with a substantial part of his property." ⁴

FRIENDS AND THE NEGROES

The Quaker is the traditional friend of the Negro. For 150 years he hammered at the shackles that bound the black man, but the present generation of Quakers have ignored, for the most part, the subtler but more galling bonds that tie the Negro to his past. Raymond T. Bye in speaking of the organizations among Friends dealing with inter-racial problems says:

"It is noteworthy that the number of such organizations is small, and many of them are almost, if not quite, inactive. The Society of Friends in America to-day, with the exception of a small amount of work for the Negro most of which is centered in Philadelphia, is doing very little to help solve the pressing problems of race relations in our country. There is, therefore, an almost unexploited opportunity to carry the Friendly message and apply the Friendly principles of brotherhood into this field. In doing it, however, we will be

⁴ Pamphlet, *The Indian Question*, published by the Indian Rights Association in 1926.

forced in the main to create new agencies and work out a program without much precedent to guide us.”⁵

If the Quakers, as a whole, were doing as much for the Negro as they are in Philadelphia the above paragraph would not be applicable to their relations to the colored people. It was a Quaker, Anne Biddle Sterling, who organized the Philadelphia Inter-Racial Committee, composed, at first, of ten persons from each of the two races. Later the number was increased to fifteen. This committee was made up of people of many different faiths and from various walks of life. The Friends believe that frank and open discussion by leaders of the two races promotes good-will and dissipates prejudice. This committee, through Anne Biddle Sterling, got the Philadelphia Housing Association to make a survey of housing in one Negro section of Philadelphia which resulted in the correction of housing defects which came within the scope of the law, namely, defective plumbing, insufficient equipment such as fire ropes, toilets, etc., unsafe structures, basement sleeping, etc.⁶

The more fundamental problem of overcrowding was not remedied, but the publicity given was probably valuable in making the white population more tolerant of the Negroes' efforts to locate in other blocks. The survey showed 12,200 people living in 2,187 houses. Of this number 1,406 were lodgers. This meant an

⁵ Report of Raymond T. Bye, chairman of the Inter-racial Committee of the American Friends' Service Committee, May 28, 1925.

⁶ Report of Philadelphia Housing Survey, 1925.

average of 5.58 persons for each house in 1925 as against 5.04 persons in 1920. In some cases this does not indicate overcrowding, but in many instances it did, as about one-third of the houses contained five rooms or less.⁷

Woolman School, a Quaker institution, has for one of its functions a demonstration on a small scale of the ability of people of diverse races and nationalities to associate together without regard to racial or color differences. This unique group in the summer of 1926 contained nine white and three colored American youths, three Germans, and one Japanese.⁸ The group is too small and too selected to have much significance as a demonstration of the possibility of eliminating the color line. Its significance for social reforms lies in the destruction of prejudices and in the new impulse for social justice to all peoples which these influential young people will carry back to their various communities throughout the United States.

The Quaker organization charged with the greatest potentiality for constructive service to the two races is the Inter-Racial Section of the American Friends' Service Committee. This section has subscribed for five of the leading Negro weekly newspapers in the United States for the purpose of getting the Negro viewpoint. Last winter this committee gave a series of inter-racial dinners, at one of which the Friends entertained over

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Interview with the director, Catherine Norment, at the Woolman School in August, 1926.

one hundred of the leading business and professional colored people of Philadelphia. The committee also arranged a "Tour of Understanding" through the Negro section of Philadelphia. They visited various welfare and business organizations of the colored people.⁹

The committee felt that these activities were very fruitful and are urging Friends in other communities to undertake similar projects.

⁹ From a news sheet put out by American Friends' Service Committee, December, 1926.

CHAPTER XIX

EFFECTS OF HUMANITARIAN AND REFORM ACTIVITIES AT HOME AND ABROAD UPON THE AMERICAN QUAKERS

The interest of the Quakers in social reform has, by no means, been uniform. Starting with high hopes of social regeneration in the seventeenth century, they gradually became more quiescent and introspective. This quietism of the eighteenth century was a natural reaction against years of persecution. To be sure, the social spirit never completely died out. John Bellers in England and John Woolman in America link the social interest of George Fox with the new social spirit of the nineteenth century Quakers.¹

The first half of the nineteenth century found them zealously attacking a wide range of social problems. John Bright and William Allen were leading figures in the attack on the wretched condition of the poor. Bright sought to better their condition by securing the repeal of the Corn Laws; Allen was interested in the schemes of Robert Owen. Peter Bedford and Elizabeth Fry were outstanding leaders in the work of penal re-

¹ For a full account see R. M. Jones' *Later Periods of Quakerism*, Vol. I, Chap. X.

form. Both of them opposed capital punishment, as well as severe penalties for minor offenses. Bedford was noted for his championship of juvenile offenders while Mrs. Fry became famous for her work of reform among women prisoners. William Tuke's Retreat, an institution for the care of the insane, founded in 1796, was the beginning of a new day in the care of this afflicted group. Quakers were out in the front ranks of the champions of temperance and the emancipation of the slaves. It is clear that a new social spirit was developing. "If the new born spirit," says Rufus M. Jones, "had not been chilled and nipped by the early frost of theological controversy and disastrous separations, the whole world would soon have felt the warmth and circulation of this passion of love and this dedication to human service."²

The result of this doctrinal interest and the resulting separations was the comparative sterility of the Society of Friends in the field of social reform during the half century immediately preceding the World War. But, as we have shown in the chapter on "The New Impetus to Humanitarian and Reform Activities," the World War aroused them from their lethargy, forced them to reëxamine the foundations of the Quaker faith, and rekindled the fires of social interest which had burned so brightly in the first half of the nineteenth century. The new twentieth century movement differs from the old in its mode of attack upon its problems. In the

² For a full account see R. M. Jones' *Later Periods of Quakerism*, Vol. I, Chap. X.



Photographed by Wm. Eves 3rd, Chief of the German Child-Feeding Mission.

Above Children at Eisenach school. Average German child is well-kept, clothes well mended, patches covered with aprons, and when undernourished their cheeks are flushed.
Below "To the last drop." Leipzig Kindergarten, 1920.

nineteenth century the Friends were touched by specific cases of suffering or injustice. Consequently they frequently "plucked the brand from the burning" without giving much thought either to the underlying causes of the "burning" or to the social consequences of their act. They tried to relieve suffering, oppression, and exploitation, but they had no thought of changing the social order. To-day the enlightened Quaker is interested not only in relieving the distress of the poor, but also in changes in our economic system that will make relief unnecessary. He is interested not only in every device that will adjust the delinquent to normal social life, but also in uprooting the conditions that produced the delinquency. He is interested not only that he himself shall treat fairly the few colored people with whom he comes in contact, but also that the Negro shall receive justice at the hands of all men. He is no longer content merely to refuse to bear arms, in times of war, but feels that he must do his part, in times of peace, to destroy the causes of war.

Another effect of the Quaker relief activities was to bring to the various branches of the Society of Friends a realization of the value of coöperation in matters of social reform. They came to see that coöperation in such matters was not incompatible with differences in beliefs and in forms of worship. One might think that it would not take a war to make people realize this fact, but such was the case. As late as 1917 the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) after careful consideration refused to send fraternal delegates to the

Five Years' Meeting at Richmond, Indiana, "on account of the feeling on the part of some Friends that in appointing delegates, as suggested, we might to some extent compromise our testimony to a free Gospel Ministry, the way did not open to accede to this request of the Five Years' Meeting. Nevertheless, we encourage such of our members as feel it right to do so, to attend the meeting in Richmond, Indiana, hoping that they may convey the feeling of love and sympathy which overspread this meeting. . . ." ³

It is with satisfaction that we record that a delegation went to Richmond and that Isaac Sharpless, in explaining why they had come, spoke of the problems confronting the Quakers in connection with the war and added: "In the face of such questions as these some of the matters that have been discussed by the Society of Friends in times past seem very trifling. We hope by our presence here to indicate to you that we are with you in the consideration of these great questions." ⁴

A further effect closely related to the previous one was to promote a closer feeling of kinship with other religious bodies holding similar peace principles. Arabella Curtis, writing on the Bluffton Peace Conference, held in August, 1922, wrote: "We Quaker pacifists are now assured for all time that we have in the field true co-laborers for peace. Never again can we speak of

³ Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (1917), Arch Street.

⁴ Minutes of the Five Years' Meeting, 1917, pp. 22-23.

our peace testimony as though we as Quakers had the exclusive right thereto, when we know of the long-time devotion of our Mennonite and Dunkard Brethren who have suffered untold hardship for this testimony as precious to them as to us.”⁵

Another result of the past ten years of coöperation has been to educate the Society in giving. The Quakers were not given to liberality in support of church machinery or church supported institutions. Those Quaker churches which reject the idea of a paid ministry and do not support foreign missions have no money to raise except the incidental expenses of heat, light, and repair on the meeting house, and perhaps a few dollars for the work of the committees on peace, temperance, etc. Even where they employ a paid minister the salaries are extremely low. These facts make the outpouring of money through the American Friends' Service Committee quite remarkable. The American Quakers gave to this organization approximately \$1,677,000 from June 1, 1917 to May 31, 1926, and are continuing to support its peace-time program to the extent of \$60,000 annually. They have done this, in addition to supporting more generously their own Yearly Meeting committees dealing with social service.

A fifth effect of the success of the Friends' relief activities during and after the war has been to arouse interest in constructive ways of expressing their opposition to war instead of the purely obstructive method of refusal to bear arms. Without giving up their oppo-

⁵ *Friends' Intelligencer*, Aug. 26, p. 535.

sition to the use of force in settling differences, the Quakers sought through civilian relief work in France and through agricultural work in this country to provide a substitute for those Friends who felt they could not accept non-combatant service under military control. The result was that only thirteen members of the Society of Friends were court-martialed and sentenced to imprisonments for conscientious objection to war.

The War Department figures show that only 3,989 out of 2,810,296 inducted men made any claim in camp for exemption from any form of military service. The disposition of these 3,989 cases was as follows: ⁶

(a) Originally accepted or were assigned to non-combatant work	1,300
(b) Furloughed for agricultural work.....	1,200
(c) Friends' Reconstruction Unit in France..	99
(d) Court-martialed and sent to prison.....	450
(e) In camp, at the time of signing the armis- tice	940

Divisions (b) and (c) above account for the small number of Quakers imprisoned. Many of the 1,200 in agricultural work were Friends. They had refused non-combatant service under military control and many of them would undoubtedly have been imprisoned had not the agricultural furlough been provided. The ninety-nine who went to France were a select group

⁶ Thomas, Norman, *The Conscientious Objector in America*, New York, 1923, pp. 14-15. His figures are from a statement made by the Secretary of War on June 18, 1919.

of which a large percentage could have been counted on to suffer imprisonment rather than go contrary to their convictions.

Did the Quakers fail in their peace testimony by using these means to prevent imprisonment? ⁷ Would they have done more for the cause of peace by going to prison in large numbers? The Quaker leaders are convinced that the answer to both of these questions is "No." One hundred and thirty-eight of the Mennonite boys were imprisoned and suffered hardship and abuse with such sweetness of spirit as to arouse the respect and admiration of all classes of imprisoned conscientious objectors. The Quakers are unstinted in their praise of the Mennonites. But outside of a few who followed the fortunes of the Conscientious Objector during the war, what effect has their sacrifice had upon the people of the United States? The Quakers, on the other hand, without donning military uniform or being under military direction found a way to help the civilians in France and this opened the way for still greater service throughout Europe—a service that has already born rich fruitage in international good-will.

Finally the efforts of the Quakers to maintain their historic principles and to carry on their humanitarian and reform activities have shown them the necessity of educating the minds, strengthening the wills, and stirring the emotions of the rank and file of their own people in regard to humanitarian principles. This is

⁷ The avoidance of imprisonment was not the primary reason for organizing the Friends' Reconstruction Unit.

especially necessary in the Middle and Far West where the membership has been recruited by evangelistic means and, as a consequence, is not deeply imbued with Quaker traditions. Except for a little more emphasis upon peace propaganda these western meetings differ little from the Protestant churches around them except in the omission of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. In the Iowa Yearly Meeting, which is probably average, the minutes previous to the World War do not reveal any special interest in prison reform or in race problems; their interest in temperance was similar to the surrounding evangelical churches; their peace interest stated in terms of money, was about fifty dollars annually for the distribution of literature. One is not surprised to read in the 1915 report of their peace committee the following statement: "We feel that our membership as a whole is not awake to the crisis we are facing. In this time when a strenuous effort is being made to create a military spirit we must be alert or suffer. Already a number of our young men through lack of knowledge have joined the militia." ⁸

The situation in Iowa is greatly changed since the outbreak of the war. During the war period they gave good financial support to the American Friends' Service Committee; and since 1920 with the help of the Service Committee the peace committee has done considerable educational work. It is in the two Philadelphia Yearly

⁸ Minutes of the Iowa Yearly Meeting, 1915.

Meetings, however, that one finds far reaching plans, and vigorous, enthusiastic activity along many lines of humanitarian service. In addition to generously supporting the American Friends' Service Committee each of these yearly meetings is carrying on an extensive program within its own borders. The change in the program of the Race Street Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) is not so noticeable inasmuch as they have had a progressive social program for many years, but the work and spirit of the Arch Street Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) appears to an outsider to have been entirely rejuvenated. This new social interest is seen especially in the work of the Social Order Committee described in Chapter XV and in the work of the Peace Committee.

The two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings have worked in fairly close coöperation since the war. Some of the Hicksite group are on the Social Order Committee and are represented in the various sub-groups of this committee. Much of their peace work had been carried on jointly. They have attended a great many country fairs around Philadelphia making speeches and distributing literature, supplied speakers for teachers' institutes, and have taken an active part in the local branches of various peace societies. Their work, however, has not been confined to Philadelphia and vicinity. The Arch Street Meeting reported in 1924 that they had distributed 500,000 copies of a pamphlet, *Christendom for a Warless World*, besides tens of thousands of other

pamphlets each year. They gave the National Council for the Prevention of War \$17,155.⁹ The Race Street Meeting raised \$16,000 for the same organization in 1924. The Race Street Meeting sends peace literature to all the normal school graduates in their territory. In 1925 literature suitable for use in the schoolroom was sent to 3,741 graduates of seventeen normal schools in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey. Both Yearly Meetings assisted in the publication and distribution of such books as Will Irwin's, *Christ or Wars*, and Kirby Page's, *War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure*.

⁹ Proceedings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, Arch Street, 1924.

CHAPTER XX

CONCLUSION

As we review the achievements of the Quakers in the past decade, we are constrained to cry out, "Truly, this is a remarkable people, practicing our preachments and realizing our ideals." We are prepared to read that their numbers have greatly increased, but such is not the case. On the whole they have just about held their own numerically since the war. They are not propagandists for their own organization, but they are intensely zealous that a certain Way of Life shall become more general. Superficial consideration might lead one to wish that the Quakers had taken advantage of their well-deserved popularity to increase their membership. As a matter of fact they have studiously tried to avoid the possibility of any such accusation being brought against them. The thoughtful leaders in the Society are much more concerned to have a small, loyal, deeply convinced group than to have a larger number ungrounded in Quaker principles. The Friends realize that it was their freedom from self-seeking that gave them their opportunity during the war to distribute \$25,000,000 in relief contributed by men of many nationalities and of diverse religious faiths; and that

enabled them to secure the confidence of European peoples on opposite sides in the Great War.

It may well be that the function of the Society of Friends is to act as pioneers of a humanitarian religion, but I am not ready to agree with an opinion frequently expressed in Quaker circles and quite fully stated by a recent writer:

"It matters little whether the Quakers increase or diminish in numbers; the great reforms they have advocated have either been accomplished or so emphatically adopted by the world, that there is no mistaking the verdict. The simple life, the crime of war, the suppression of slavery, absolute honesty in business, in politics, in international affairs; justice, equal rights, suffrage for women, rights of free conscience, temperance, morality, and perfect conduct every day, these and many more were the cornerstones of the Quaker propaganda."¹

The ultimate outcome may be all that the most socially minded could desire, but certainly the realization of many of the ideals stated above will not be attained without a tremendous struggle, nor without sacrifice and moral courage surpassing that of the Quakers in the days of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. Convincing illustrations of this position can be seen in the savagery with which the opponents of compulsory military training in our high schools and colleges are denounced; in the pressure that is put upon such institutions as the Y.M.C.A. to "rubber stamp" the whole military program; in the fate of the World

¹ Holder, C F., *The Quaker in England and America*, pp. 630-31.



Photographed by Wm. Eves 3rd, Chief of the German Child-Feeding Mission.

Above Children in line for soup and rolls after inspection of tickets. Gera, 1920.

Below Six year old girl in Leipzig Public School. Note small size, rachitic legs, and feeding card strung around her neck. The cup is typical.

Church Movement when it presumed to express an opinion upon conditions in industry; in the arrogance and ruthlessness of organized labor whenever it holds the "whip hand"; in the insidious and maliciously false propaganda against the Child Labor Amendment; and in the increasing commercialization of the professions.

These situations, among many others, lead one to believe that it is not a matter of indifference whether the Quakers survive or perish. To be sure, interest in humanitarianism and social reform did not originate with the Quakers, nor are they the most numerous of its proponents to-day, but their long tradition of reform activities and their reputation for unselfish service make them the natural leaders and inspirers of socially minded folk in all groups. Whether or not the Quakers will survive to play that rôle depends, in large measure, upon the ability of the leaders of the Society to put across a program of education in Quaker principles as these relate themselves to modern social problems. Professor Ellwood has well said: "A socially progressive religion, to find wide following and acceptance, presupposes a high development of intelligence in the mass of individuals."² Before the Society of Friends can meet this presupposition they will have to modify their methods and organization to some extent. In the first place the various Quaker groups must give loyal support to a central agency, such as the American Friends' Service Committee. This organization might be mainly for the collection and dissemination of in-

² *Reconstruction of Religion*, New York, 1923.

formation, although it would naturally promote goodwill and coöperation among the various branches of the Society. In the second place, they must either go over to a well paid, efficient ministerial system or else plan more systematically for intelligent, inspirational lay leadership. The fine democratic theory of "the priesthood of all believers" fails to function where people have little leisure and where they are far removed from the centers of thought and action. The result is either periods of silence in their meetings so long as to lose their psychological effect upon the worshipers or talks which run in narrow grooves covering with monotonous repetition the limited regions of their experience. Thoughtful Quaker leaders of to-day are trying to retain the ancient Quaker principle and to check the clamor for a pastoral system by employing a paid secretary. He might better be called a Director of Religious Life. He does not preach regularly nor is he responsible for the conduct of the Meeting for Worship. His work is so to direct the interests, the activities, and the reading of the members through individual contacts and group conferences that each worship hour will find some one with a fresh, inspiring message which will carry conviction to the hearers.

In addition to the above plan for making lay religion vital, it seems to the writer that the Quakers might well develop three or four institutions along lines similar to the work of the Woolman School. To such institutions mature, socially minded people could be encouraged to go for short periods of study,—one

or more quarters. These small groups of not more than fifty persons should contain representatives of the various branches of the Society from different sections of the country. The institution should bring in as lecturers and as discussion leaders, men of ripe scholarship and wide experience in specific fields of human relations. There should also be a well-equipped library where the student could read intensively on any social problem of special interest to the meeting of which he is a member. Lectures, discussions, conferences, reading, exchange of experiences, fellowship even for a twelve-week period, would give the intelligent worker a fund of knowledge, a point of view, and an enthusiasm that would do much to awaken an entire community.

If the Quakers do not succeed, by these or some other means, in developing an understanding of, a firm loyalty for, and a deep sympathy with the essential principles of Quakerism among the rank and file, many of whom are not birth-right Quakers, the Society of Friends within the next fifty years, in most parts of the country, will in all probability be merely one more religious denomination. A faithful remnant, few in numbers but still possessing great potentiality, would continue to find their inspiration for greater service to man in the meeting houses along the Atlantic seaboard.

But whatever their future as an organized body, their service to humanity both material and spiritual in the last ten years has placed Europe and America

under a debt of gratitude which can be repaid only by similar service to humanity in the future. Their material service to a war-torn world has already been summarized. There remains the task of pointing out certain things which the Quaker work demonstrated or called attention to anew.

The Great War developed an intensely partisan spirit. Men lost the power to reason and became easy victims of the propagandist. Their allies possessed all the virtues and their enemies all the vices. It was the same on each side. Each allied group believed that their opponents were cruel, beastly butchers. When the Friends went into Germany they were told of the awful atrocities committed by the French and English troops, and the Germans were astonished to learn that their own troops were accused of similar acts. The Quakers helped to restore sanity by calling attention to our common humanity and by refusing to recognize, in the presence of human suffering, the war-made distinctions of "friend" and "enemy." When the Quakers first arrived in Germany, the people took it for granted that they were pro-German in their sympathies. The Quakers had to remind them quite bluntly that whereas there were fifty Friends doing work in Germany there had been five hundred in France. Much opposition to feeding the German children developed in the United States. Having been taught that the Germans were vipers, why should we try to save the little vipers?

In these days of religious controversy we are indebted to the Quakers for demonstrating anew the su-

periority, for the improvement of human welfare, of a humano-centric religion over ego-centric faiths. It is this emphasis on the value of human personality which interests the social scientist in the Quaker faith. An ego-centric religion causes its devotees to be interested in humanity only insofar as their own welfare is affected, but a humano-centric religion impels its followers to forget self in their efforts to help humanity. The Quaker faith is of the latter type. The extent of the Quaker's service to man is a measure of his service to God. His is essentially a social religion—a religion that is more fundamental than that of the Fundamentalists, and that antedates the modernism of the Modernists. It is a religion that provides for the satisfaction of the individual spiritual life and also provides the dynamic for sustained interest in all phases of human welfare.

The scope and intensity of Quaker humanitarian activities in recent years seem to foreshadow the promise which Professor Ellwood sees in this type of religion: "*Social religion regards sacrifice when prompted by love and made for the sake of human service the supreme measure of the ethical and religious spirit*; and social science sees in such enthusiasm of humanity the height of social passion and, when guided and controlled by adequate intelligence, the best promise of the world's ultimate redemption." ³

Sociologists have seen the sphere of religion narrow with the development of knowledge. Earthquakes and

³ *Reconstruction of Religion*, p. 176.

droughts, for example, are no longer religious portents. As the elements of fear become less of a factor in man's life, a religion of rewards and punishments becomes less important as a means of social control. Consequently there has been a tendency to minimize the importance of religion as a social force for the future. But what about a religion which, in its essential elements, serves God by uplifting humanity,—a religion which is not bound by past revelation,—a religion which causes its followers to seek the fullest knowledge and the best scientific methods in their efforts to help mankind? Is not such a religion a great constructive social force? Might not the historian have a very different story to record if the diplomats of the great European powers had been animated by humanitarian impulses instead of nationalistic greed and egotism?

But are there not sources of motivation, other than religion, for our human welfare interests? Undoubtedly there are. Increased knowledge of situations may stir our altruistic impulses, but knowledge alone is not sufficient to secure action. The whole group of altruistic impulses, social traditions, class and political interests do arouse interest in reforms which will benefit humanity. Some of these sources of motivation may call forth as intense and as sacrificial devotion to a cause as could the most highly socialized religion. The political group of conscientious objectors during the World War suffered persecution for their convictions as unflinchingly as did the religious group. What then was the difference in the motivation of the two groups?

There was no difference in the practical results in this particular situation, namely, opposition to taking part in the World War. The difference between the two is in the extent and character of their interest in humanity. The political objector of the Socialist group refused to fight because he considered this to be a capitalistic war, but many of them would have been perfectly willing to fight in a class-war to overthrow our present economic system.⁴ The religious objector refused to fight in this or any other war because the use of force ran counter to his views of the nature of both God and man. The Socialist's political concepts enabled him to project his sympathies to take in one economic group; the Quaker's religious concepts enabled him to universalize his humanitarian impulses. Our altruistic instincts unaided by religion lose their binding force in the far reaches of a world social order.

Furthermore the Quakers have demonstrated once more that good-will and sympathy must be linked to knowledge to secure social coöperation and social adjustments. Everyone recognizes, for example, that we possess more knowledge of ways and means for securing better international relations than we are able to put into practice until we can generate more good-will. The same is true of a great many difficulties between labor and capital. If mutual sympathy and good-will can be developed the problems are solved. "In our present human world with its seemingly hopeless divi-

⁴ See Case, C. M., *Non-Violent Coercion*, New York, 1923, pp. 256-60.

sion into hostile groups of all sorts, we would seem to be more in need of good-will, indeed than of intelligence; for until good-will had laid a basis for some approach there would seem to be little opportunity for intelligence to function.”⁵ Since humanitarian religion is so potent as a developer of universal good-will and sympathy, it would seem that we have in modern social religion a tremendous factor for securing social adjustments.⁶

Not only must we turn to this type of religion for aid in making international and other group adjustments, but has it not great significance for the whole field of Social Work? Has not the Quaker with his inner conviction of the brotherhood of man in a world undergirded by loving Personality a message for social workers and humanitarians of every kind? The Quakers have found in such a faith the motivation for all their welfare work. Such a religion energizes the tired spirit, braces the faltering will, melts prejudices, condemns narrowness and selfishness, illumines knowledge, links loving personality to scientific method, gives unity to the whole of life, and meaning to every effort for social betterment.

⁵ Ellwood, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

⁶ See Blackmar and Gillen, *Outlines of Sociology*, New York, pp. 286-287.

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